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## The Classical Background of the Colonial Anglican Clergy of Virginia

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THE CLASSICAL BACKGROUND  
OF THE  
COLONIAL ANGLICAN CLERGY OF VIRGINIA

A Thesis  
Presented To  
The Faculty of the Department of Ancient Languages  
College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

By  
W. Elliott Wilkins, jr.

June 1957

## PREFACE

This study is a product of the help and encouragement of a number of persons, without whose assistance and advice it would not have come to fruition. My mother, Ruth Jones Wilkins, is foremost among these. Appreciation is due also to members of the staffs of the Widener Library of Harvard University, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Virginia State Library, the Library of the College of William and Mary, and the Norfolk Public Library, and especially to Mr. William G. Harkins, Librarian of the College of William and Mary, and to Mr. Herbert L. Ganter, Archivist, for their help and interest. The members of the Committee on this thesis, Dr. A. P. Wagener, Dr. George J. Ryan, Dr. Lester J. Cappon, and Dr. Charles Crowe, have given generously of their time and talents in reading and in suggesting changes.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION:

#### GENERAL STATUS OF THE COLONIAL CLERGY

Everyone familiar with Virginia history knows about the reports widely circulated concerning the quality and qualifications of the clergy in its Colonial Church. Their character has been presented as questionable; their background, dubious; their standing, low. They are asserted to have spent most of their time dicing, drinking, riding to hounds, or employed in other diversions which were no part of their sacerdotal or ministerial office.<sup>1</sup> By inference, too, they were but mediocre scholars at best; their talents lay in a different field. This to the present day is the popular impression of the Colonial clergy of Virginia, the "fox-hunting parsons" of story-book fame.

Those who are familiar with the publications of Philip Alexander Bruce<sup>2</sup> or of Edward L. Goodwin<sup>3</sup>, to

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<sup>1</sup> William Meade, Old Churches and Families of Virginia, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1872, I, 162-164, II, 351-352.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Alexander Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, New York and London, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Edward L. Goodwin, Colonial Church in Virginia, Milwaukee, 1927.

name only two, know that this picture is, to say the least, exaggerated, if not entirely false. Even Robert B. Semple, an outspoken enemy of the old Church, says, "Most of the ministers of the Establishment were men of classical and scientific education, patronized by men in power connected with great families, supported by competent salaries, and put into office by the strong arm of the civil power."<sup>4</sup>

This educated body of clergy he means to compare unfavorably with the early Baptist preachers, one of whom at the time of his ordination was actually illiterate.<sup>5</sup> It is Semple, along with other denominational historians of the nineteenth century such as Howell<sup>6</sup> and Bennett<sup>7</sup>, who is responsible for the sullied reputation of the Established clergy. He writes:

"Some of the cardinal precepts of morality were disregarded, and actions plainly forbidden by the

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<sup>4</sup> Robert B. Semple, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia, Richmond, 1894, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Boyle C. Howell, The Early Baptists of Virginia, Philadelphia, n.d., pp. 73-75.

<sup>7</sup> William W. Bennett, Memorials of Methodism in Virginia, Richmond, 1871, Chapter I, passim.

New Testament were often proclaimed by the clergy as harmless and innocent, or at worst, foibles of but little account. Having no discipline, every man followed the bent of his own inclination. It was not uncommon for the rectors of parishes to be men of the loosest morals."<sup>8</sup>

He states no authority for this remark. Careful investigation by Dr. Goodwin of the entire number of Colonial Anglican clergy reveals that out of six hundred forty-five of whom there is any record, "only thirty-five present any record of misconduct in the whole period from 1627 to 1785."<sup>9</sup> Thus, only about 5.4% of the whole number are reported to have been in any trouble whatsoever, and this in spite of the fact that throughout the Colonial period in Virginia an Episcopal Church functioned without a resident bishop and with no effective ecclesiastical authority. The Bishop of London and his Commissary never effected any real organization of the Colonial Church, though from Blair's time attempts were made to do so.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Robert B. Semple, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia, Richmond, 1894, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> Op. cit., p. xviii. Dr. Goodwin was a priest of the Episcopal Church and Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia, 1905-1924.

<sup>10</sup> The office of Commissary was established (with James Blair as first incumbent) in an effort to provide some authority on this side of the Atlantic and some cohesion. Because, however, only the Bishop of London could remove an inducted minister, the Commissary's power was not effective.

The impression that these same men were ignorant or uninterested in intellectual matters is proved equally baseless by inventories of their libraries at their deaths, by the letters they wrote, by the books they published, and in less direct ways, such as by legacies of books bequeathed to them.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the records which remain show that the parson with little education was definitely an exception. As early as 1620 the Virginia Company did "ordaine and require, that in every Burrough there be provided and placed at least one godly and learned Minister,"<sup>12</sup> and the Company's continuing concern for a learned ministry runs through the records almost like a refrain. In 1621, when a gift of money had been made to the Company, the Reverend Patrick Copland (who was nominated rector of the proposed College, but never came to Virginia) was consulted whether to employ the money for a church or a school--and it was decided to turn it to the

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<sup>11</sup> E.g., Dr. John Holloway's bequest of a Greek Testament to the Rev. John Rozier of Northampton County. Cf. Jennings C. Wise, Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke, Richmond, 1911, p. 259.

<sup>12</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, edited by Susan M. Kingsbury, Washington, 1906, four vols. III, 277.



erection of a free school.<sup>13</sup>

From its first meeting in July, 1619, the General Assembly was the lawmaking body for Virginia's Church.<sup>14</sup> Conformity was enforced--though seldom stringently--as it was in England, but there is little evidence that the burden of the Establishment rested heavily on any shoulders, save those of the more "enthusiastical" groups. It is significant that when preachers of these dissenting sects were arrested, their release was often conditioned upon a peace bond--an index of the sort of preaching they did.<sup>15</sup>

Throughout Colonial records there are few accounts of troubles with Dissenters. Most Virginians accepted the Established Church, and the efforts of the General Assembly were bent to affairs within the Church much more often than to the regulation of non-conforming groups. Turning early to the problem of an educated clergy, this body enacted in 1631/2 that,

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<sup>13</sup> Records of the Virginia Company, edited by Susan M. Kingsbury, Washington, 1906, four vols., I, 538.

<sup>14</sup> George McLaren Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, two vols. Vol. I, Richmond, 1947, Vol. II, Philadelphia, 1952. I, 67.

<sup>15</sup> Semple, op. cit., passim.

"Mynisters shall not give themselves to excesse in drinking, or ryott, spending theire Tyme idelie by day or by night playing at dice, cards, or any other unlawful game, but at all Tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest studies, or exercise, alwayes doinge the things which shall apperteyne to honestie and endeavour to profitt the church of God. . . ." <sup>16</sup>

In 1631/2, the General Assembly ratified all the enactments of earlier sessions, and this was one of eighteen laws (of a total of sixty-one) dealing with the Church <sup>17</sup>. The reason for the specific prohibition against "spending theire Tyme idelie" is not apparent, inasmuch as no record of misconduct of any clergyman in Virginia survives from this early period. <sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the unsuccessful attempt in 1660/1 to found a college was made partly in order to provide an indigenous ministry. <sup>19</sup> At the convention of clergy at Jamestown, July 23, 1690, which was the first such held

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<sup>16</sup> Brydon, op. cit., I, 430.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., I, 426.

<sup>18</sup> See Bruce, op. cit., I, 208-214, for accounts of individual offenders among the clergy.

<sup>19</sup> Hening, Statutes of Virginia, II, 56, quoted by Brydon, op. cit., I, 468.

in Virginia, it was resolved to appeal for help in establishing a college.<sup>20</sup> One sees here the hand of Dr. Blair, whose efforts succeeded some three years later in the founding of The College of William and Mary.

Bruce, speaking of the seventeenth century parsons, remarks,

"From the middle of the century to the end, as from the beginning to the middle, a large proportion of the clergymen were not only graduates of English universities, but also men of more or less distinguished social connections in England. Morgan Godwyn.... was the great-grandson of a chaplain of Queen Elizabeth, afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. His grandfather had filled the see of Hereford, whilst his father had died an archdeacon. Rev. Philip Mallory.... was both the son and the brother of a dean of Chester.... Rev. John Clayton.... was a member of the Royal Society...."<sup>21</sup>

He also notes that not one of the clergymen of the seventeenth century was a native of Virginia, so far as is known. A few were Scots, but most of them were English.<sup>22</sup> The proportion of men from England probably did not change much until

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<sup>20</sup> Hening, Statutes of Virginia, II, 56, quoted by Brydon, op. cit., I, 280

<sup>21</sup> Op. cit., I, 200-201

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., I, 116.

almost 1750, when William and Mary began to provide a fairly regular supply of native-born clergy. Regarding their preparation, Bruce states:

"All the clergymen, as one of the requisites of their calling, had been carefully educated, and were familiar with books; when they came over to Virginia, they brought with them at least the different works in which they had been grounded while pursuing a course in theology before becoming candidates for holy orders."<sup>23</sup>

The Reverend Dr. Thomas Bray in 1701 founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (known as the SPG) in order to evangelize the American colonies. Virginia and Maryland were excluded from his scheme because in these colonies the Church was securely established and functioning well, but both colonies benefitted indirectly, through the strengthening of the Church to the northward and southward, and through the coming of a number of men after services elsewhere as SPG missionaries.<sup>24</sup>

The Reverend Hugh Jones, in The Present State of Virginia, reported that clergymen in Virginia

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<sup>23</sup> Op. cit., I, 172.

<sup>24</sup> Hening, Statues of Virginia, II, 56, quoted by Brydon, op. cit., I, 219.

"should be Persons that have read and seen something more of the world, than what is requisite for an English Parish; they must be such as can converse and know more than bare Philosophy and speculative Ethicks, and have studied Men and Business in some Measure as well as Books; they may act like Gentlemen, and be facetious and good-humoured, without becoming Cynicks, as they may be good Christians without appearing Stoicks.... There are many such worthy, prudent, and pious Clergymen as these in Virginia, who meet with the Love, Reputation, Respect, and Encouragement that such good men may deserve and expect."<sup>25</sup>

Adversely, however, Jones goes on to say that the "Learning, Actions, and Manners (of some) have not been so good as might be wished."<sup>26</sup>

It would be interesting to know just which men Jones referred to in this sentence. For the conditions of the Colony were not conducive to either scholarship or spiritual leadership on the part of the clergy. The parishes were widely scattered and largely isolated from one another; books were expensive and hard to obtain; salaries of parish

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<sup>25</sup> Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, Chapel Hill, 1956, p. 118.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

ministers were barely adequate<sup>27</sup>, in many instances, to support a man and his family. Further, as has been noted, there was no ecclesiastical administration, for the Bishop of London, whose responsibility it was to care for the parishes in Virginia, was three thousand miles away, and could exercise only the most limited oversight. True, from the time of James Blair, the Bishop had a Commissary in Virginia, but this official's authority was severely limited.

The great limitation of the Commissary's authority was that neither he nor the Governor, nor anyone else in Virginia, had the power to remove a minister who had been inducted into a parish, and who thereby attained a life-right

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. H. R. McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1695-1702, pp. 98-99. A group of the clergy had protested that their salaries were inadequate. Cf. also William Stevens Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, Virginia volume, Hartford, 1870, pp. 307-8. In reply to the Bishop of London's Questionnaires of 1724, John Cargill of Southworth parish reported that there was no parochial library, and, "what few Books I have are my own purchase. Your Lordships will be very naturally led to believe that I must labor under difficulties for want of Books when you observe that my salary is such a poor allowance for the maintenance of my family."

unless removed for good cause by the Bishop. While the Governor had been given authority to induct, only the Bishop could remove, and the difficulties of doing so will readily be seen by anyone who reflects upon the status of trans-Atlantic communications in that day. The vestries of the colony were loath to be burdened, perhaps for years, by men who, in the absence of ecclesiastical authority, might feel no constraint, and from whom there would be no relief, short of death. The vestries' solution of this very serious problem provoked controversy throughout the Colonial era. They simply refused to present their ministers to the Governor for induction, and rather made annual contracts with them at so many pounds of tobacco in return for their services. Only when a minister had served well and faithfully did the vestry--sometimes--present him for induction, a signal honor attesting that he was universally beloved and implicitly trusted. The clergy felt that this practice exposed them to the whims of powerful men on the vestries; that if they preached against someone's favorite vice, they might not be asked to return the following year.

The adamant refusal of vestries to present ministers for induction, in spite of directives from governors and pleas

from commissaries, was widely thought to have deterred many able and dedicated men from coming to Virginia, and to have affected adversely the quality of her clergy. Reports circulating in England to the effect that a parson might suddenly be turned out of his parish, three thousand miles from home, with nowhere to go, naturally served to discourage thoughts of emigrating to Virginia. It is doubtless true that, had induction been the rule, more men of the abler sort would have filled the parishes of Virginia; but it is also true that, unsatisfactory as was the resulting situation, the vestries had adopted the only method by which they could protect the parishes against those unworthy and incompetent ministers who did come over.<sup>28</sup>

Once a minister came and was established in a parish, he was assured, if he boasted cultural attainments, of intercourse with others whose interests were as broad as his own. Colonial records are full of references to books, music, edu-

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<sup>28</sup> For a fuller discussion of the induction question, see Brydon, op. cit., I, 98-102, 321-325, 344-353.



cation, and the other refinements which raise people above the level of barbarism.<sup>29</sup> William Byrd had the largest library in Colonial Virginia, containing over three thousand volumes.<sup>30</sup> It must have been available for the use of the Reverend Charles Anderson, minister of Westover Parish, whom Byrd mentions again and again,<sup>31</sup> and whose company he evidently enjoyed. Again, on a trip to visit the Custises of Arlington on the Eastern Shore, Byrd found Parson Dunn and his wife at his host's. However, he had but a low opinion of the minister. "Parson Dunn...." he writes, "is a man of no polite conversation, notwithstanding he be a good Latin scholar."<sup>32</sup> The following day he and the parson, returning from an excursion, "found some of the women sick and some out of humor and particularly my wife quarrelled with Mr. Dunn and me for talking Latin and called it bad manners."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. Bruce, op. cit., pp. 402-450; Mary Newton Stanard, Colonial Virginia, its People and Customs, Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 229-252, 262-320.

<sup>30</sup> Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia, p. 333.

<sup>31</sup> The Secret Diary of William Byrd, Richmond, 1941, passim.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., Nov. 10, 1709, p. 105.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Nov. 11, 1709, p. 105.

In every parish, though usually on a less pretentious scale than Byrd's, there were estates of men who had excellent libraries, who were themselves college-educated, and in whom the well-trained clergyman might find kindred spirits and even sometimes his equal in theology; for colonial libraries were usually well stocked with religious works.<sup>34</sup> There was no question of the Anglican clergyman's inclusion in any level of society with which he chose to affiliate himself, for "ordination conferred upon a man the status of a gentleman --in accord with practice in England."<sup>35</sup> Many surviving records bear testimony that the clergy, provided they were worthy, were highly esteemed and everywhere accepted. Mary Newton Stanard has written that at least forty prominent families of Virginia are descended from colonial Anglican clergymen, some of whom were of gentle blood, many of whom possessed good libraries, and most of whom were apparently college-

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Wright, op. cit., Chapter V, pp. 117-154.

<sup>35</sup> Brydon, op. cit., II, 58.

educated. The Maury and Monroe families, to name only two, are among the best known of those alluded to by Mrs. Stanard. It would be safe to hazard a guess that in the pedigree of almost any seventh or eighth generation Virginian, at least one Colonial clergyman will be found.

## CHAPTER II

### EDUCATION OF THE COLONIAL VIRGINIA CLERGY

In trying to reach any general conclusion about the Colonial clergy of Virginia, it should be remembered that records are extremely sketchy in many instances, and that even the names of many who served faithfully and well have doubtless been lost. Goodwin's List of the Colonial Clergy of Virginia from 1607 to 1785, compiled from various sources,<sup>1</sup> totals six hundred forty-five names. Where such information was available, he noted their college training, the parishes they held, and records of any unusual distinction or of any trouble in court. But many of these men are simply names, some of them lacking even a surviving Christian name.<sup>2</sup> Something is known about five hundred fourteen of them beyond the fact that they were granted the King's Bounty<sup>3</sup> to come to Virginia, or simply were

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 241-319.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Parson Dunn, supra.

<sup>3</sup> The King's Bounty was a grant of £ 20 to a clergyman to help defray his expenses in going to one of the Colonies.

in Virginia. The uncertainty of the figures is increased by the inexactitude of Colonial orthographers, with the result that it is sometimes uncertain whether we are dealing with one man or two. Dr. Goodwin's research revealed that at least seventy-five, or about 14.6% of the five hundred fourteen mentioned above<sup>4</sup>, had attended one of the colleges of Oxford University<sup>5</sup>. They held a total of seventy-two degrees, including forty-four Bachelor of Arts, twenty-two Master of Arts, three Bachelor of Divinity, one Bachelor of Canon Law, and two or three Doctor of Divinity. One of them held four Oxford degrees; two had three each; twelve were granted two each; thirty-eight held one degree each; and twenty-two left without a degree.

The number of those who are known to have attended Cambridge University is smaller. Forty-nine, or about 9.5%

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<sup>4</sup> The careful reader will have noted that the percentage of persons who were in trouble is based on the six hundred forty-five, while figures concerning education are based on the smaller number. This is deliberate, on the assumption that an evil reputation is likely to cling to someone's name while all else may be forgotten.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A.

were in one or another of the colleges. These held a total of forty-eight degrees, including the following: Bachelor of Arts, twenty-seven; Master of Arts, sixteen; Doctor of Divinity, two; Bachelor of Divinity, one; Bachelor of Medicine, one; Bachelor of Letters, one. Again, one man held four Cambridge degrees, while fourteen had two each, sixteen were granted one each, and eighteen held none, so far as is known.

If one wishes to include those colonial parsons who possibly attended Oxford or Cambridge, Goodwin's List yields the names of an additional sixty-five; one or two of them doubtful, the others ranging from open possibility to strong probability, depending upon the incidence of the name. Assuming that only half of these are to be identified with those of the same name who are known to have attended Oxford or Cambridge, a total enrollment of one hundred fifty-seven, or about 30.6% of the five hundred fourteen, is arrived at. Thus, it is safe to assume that almost a third of Virginia's Colonial clergy--and probably more--had at least attended one of the two famous English universities, and that most of these held degrees.

The influence of William and Mary, the next largest single source of clergy, did not begin to make itself felt to any great degree until after 1750. Goodwin's List contains the names of thirty (or about 5.8% of the five hundred fourteen) who studied at the college which was founded to train clergymen.\* Only five of these, in all probability, were at the College before 1750, and twenty-five, in as many years following that date. Goodwin does not record degrees for any of them, save a Doctorate of Divinity for John Cameron, who was a product of King's College, Aberdeen.

Still other clergy came to Virginia after study at Scottish or Irish universities. Goodwin names four who had studied at Edinburgh, two at Aberdeen, two at Glasgow, and two at Dublin. Finally, one (Nathaniel Eaton) was made both Doctor of Medicine and Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Padua after he had left Virginia; while one was a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, and another a graduate of the College of New Jersey.

The names of eight of these clergy are recorded with degrees, but without any indication of college. It must be

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\*"...that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel,..." Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 1 (The Charter).

remembered, too, that the records, if complete, would doubtless prove that many more of the Colonial clergy of Virginia had attended colleges. The List given by Dr. Goodwin, from which the above figures have been taken, was based on extant Colonial records, and on the publications Alumni Oxonienses and Alumni Cantabrigienses, the latter of which was not available after the year 1751 or beyond the letter R.<sup>6</sup> The alumni lists of the Scottish and Irish universities were not available, nor were those of the French universities, where almost certainly some of the Huguenot ministers<sup>7</sup> had studied.

By addition of the figures above a total is arrived at of two hundred seven men who definitely had some college training.<sup>8</sup> This number is approximately 40.3% of the five hundred fourteen or so of whom anything more than their names is known. In all probability the actual number of those who were college-educated exceeded half the total by a comfortable margin.

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<sup>6</sup> Goodwin, op. cit., p. 243.

<sup>7</sup> A number of Huguenots came to Virginia and settled in Powhatan County about 1700. Their early ministers, and one or two others elsewhere, were French.

<sup>8</sup> This does not allow for duplications, (about six), but the estimate is still conservative.



What classical authors would a student at a seventeenth or eighteenth century college have been likely to study? While records are not available to show what works were read at William and Mary, the following quotation from its Statutes shows the general status of Greek and Latin study in the curriculum of the College.

"In this Grammar School, let the Latin and Greek Tongues be well taught. We assign Four Years to the Latin, and Two to the Greek. As for Rudiments and Grammars, and Classick Authors of each Tongue, let them teach the same Books, which by Law or Custom are used in the Schools of England."<sup>9</sup>

The Statutes of the College thus state nothing about which specific Latin and Greek authors were to be read, save that the Colloquies of Erasmus were to be used in order to teach the boys a good conversational Latin style, and that nothing was to be read in any author, however approved for other reasons, which tended to corrupt morals or lessen respect for religion. Beyond these limitations the Master of the Grammar School was at liberty to choose any classical authors whom he might wish.

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<sup>9</sup> William and Mary Quarterly, Series I, Vol. 22 (1914), "The Statutes of the College of William and Mary", p. 286. Cf. also Lyon G. Tyler, Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary, n. p., n. d., p. 2.

In the William and Mary Library at present there are a number of books which belonged to students in the Colonial period, and a few owned by the faculty. One of the former belonged successively to three students, Rice Hooe, Thomas Price, and William Stith (none of them a clergyman). Published at Glasgow in 1732, it contains Cicero's De Officiis, De Senectute, De Amicitia, Paradoxa, and the Somnium Scipionis, "In Usum Juventutis Academicæ."<sup>10</sup> It is safe to assume that these works, or some of them, were studied by almost every boy who attended college until well after the nineteenth century began.

William and Mary's library was small until Alexander Spotswood (Governor, 1710-1722) at his death in 1740 bequeathed "all his books, maps and mathematical instruments"<sup>11</sup> to the College. From this time the student who employed his leisure in reading had presumably a fairly wide choice of books, though we do not know how large Col. Spotswood's library was. Later Governors Gooch, Fauquier, Dinwiddie, and Dunmore also made gifts of books, and in 1784 King Louis XVI of France donated some two hundred books to the College.<sup>12</sup> Just prior to this, the size of

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. William and Mary Quarterly, Series I, Vol. 22, (1914) pp. 217-218, "Historical and Genealogical Notes."

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Vol. 19, p. 49. Cf. the entire article (pp. 48-51) "Library of the College of William and Mary."

<sup>12</sup> These men set themselves in a long and honorable tradition, for as early as 1439, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, made a bequest to Oxford University of one hundred twenty-nine books, including works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Galen, Pliny the Elder, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, many editions of the Fathers, and Averroes. Cf. Henry Anstey, Munimenta Academica, 2 vols., London, 1868, I, 758-772.

the collection had been estimated at three thousand books.

Though we have little information about courses and texts at William and Mary, it is easy to ascertain what was read in other schools where Virginia's clergy were educated, and in comparable schools. At Cambridge there is extant an early seventeenth-century program, drawn up by Richard Holdsworth, who was a Fellow of St. John's, 1613-1637, and Master of Emmanuel, 1637-1643.<sup>13</sup> In addition to outlining a program of studies, Holdsworth held out good advice about studying.

"The student must take classified notes of everything he reads and of all lectures that he attends; and he should copy into notebooks any Latin and Greek idioms, epigrams, and turns of phrase which might be useful in themes and disputations. The Latin classics he should 'get without book,' that is without lexicon, reading them over several times in order to grasp the meaning and acquire the habit of thinking Latin; but he is not expected to read Greek thus. Almost all the Greek books used at Cambridge in his time were printed with a Latin translation facing every page of text.

In his curriculum, Holdsworth compromises between the old learning and the new by devoting his pupils' mornings to logic and the three philosophies, afternoons to humane letters and history."<sup>14</sup>

What, then, was this curriculum which Holdsworth proposed each of his pupils should follow? The classical authors are exceedingly well represented in this four-year course. The first-year man read Cicero's Letters, Erasmus' Colloquies (to polish his Latin conversational style, no doubt), and Terence's Comedies. Latin

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 64-72.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

exercises were tailored to the reading: the student wrote letters when he read Cicero, stories while he was working with the Colloquies. A little later he began Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Greek New Testament. By November he should have completed the selections from Cicero and Erasmus, and in December he began in Theognis of Megara.

The sophomore studies, in line with mediaeval custom, were Aristotelian in the mornings. For the afternoon, Cicero's De Amicitia, De Senectute, and De Oratore were prescribed. Aesop's Fables were to be read, doubtless to palliate the heavy fare. Then followed Florus, Sallust, and Quintus Curtius. In poetry there were Vergil's Eclogues and Georgics, Ovid's Heroides, and the works of Horace, Martial, Hesiod, and Theocritus. Fortunately, the student was not expected to read each of them in toto: "Allow to each of these a fortnight, in which time I doe not expect you should read every one of them over, but only as much as you can in the time allotted. I direct you to so many rather then to one or two, only because they are such books as no Scholar ought to be ignorant of."<sup>15</sup>

Midway through now, junior sophisters read Aristotle's Organon, Physica, and Ethica, and they had a choice of Seneca's Naturales Quaestiones or Lucretius. Their afternoon studies were devoted to Cicero's and Demosthenes' orations, Petronius'

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

Satyricon, and Quintilian's orations; while in poetry they read from Juvenal, Persius, Claudian, the Aeneid, and the Iliad. To round off the studies of this year they read Livy and Suetonius.

Senior sophisters made their way through Aristotle's De Anima, De Coelo, and Meteorologia (with commentaries). They read also Justinian's Institutions, Aulus Gellius, Macrobius' Saturnalia, and "Plautus, or some part of him ... but never imitate his latine."<sup>16</sup> Cicero's De Officiis and De Finibus entered the curriculum here. Finally a month was devoted to the Iliad and Odyssey, and a fortnight each to Seneca's Tragedies, Lucan, and Statius. How the young scholars under Holdsworth's tutelage ever found time to do any significant part of this reading, and keep up with the studies he prescribed in other fields, may be left to wiser minds to answer. Certain it is, that they came forth well armed with a classical education.

Aberdeen University still clung rather closely to the mediaeval curriculum during this same period. About 1640, Glenardus' entire Greek grammar was prescribed for freshmen, followed by the Greek Testament and the Epistle of St. Basil to St. Gregory of Nazianzus. Two orations of Isocrates were to be read, and one of the Philippics of Demosthenes, as well as the didactic poem attributed to Phocylides. Then the student read one

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

book of Hesiod and one of the Iliad, followed by two Idylls of Theocritus and the first Chapter of Nonnus' Paraphrase of St. John. At this point the young scholars of Aberdeen were introduced to the elements of Hebrew.

Almost the whole of the Aristotelian Organon was read during the second year, and the remainder was finished in the third. The student now launched in earnest into the study of Aristotle, for he read, in addition to the foregoing, two and a half books of the Nichomachean Ethics, De Virtutibus et Vitiis, and five books of De Physico Auditu.

In the fourth year, there was more Aristotle: his De Coelo, Books I, II, and IV; De Ortu et Interitu, two books; De Anima, Books I-III; an epitome of the Parva Naturalia; and a synopsis of the Meteorologia.<sup>17</sup>

"The Harvard curriculum, both in content and in method," Morison points out, "was an attempt to reproduce the major features of the Arts course of Cambridge. The three main elements of that course were present, although not in the same proportion: the mediaeval Arts and Philosophies; the serious renaissance study of the Learned Tongues; the lighter renaissance study of such belles-lettres as were deemed suitable for a gentleman's education. A good deal was left out of the first; the second was reinforced by a large programme of Oriental languages; and 'polite letters,' though not stressed, were not slighted."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1936, I, 165.

There is an account of the Harvard curriculum in 1723 by Tutor Henry Flynt<sup>19</sup> which indicates the extent of classical reading. Freshmen reviewed the authors they had previously read: Cicero, Isocrates, Homer, and Vergil, along with the Greek Testament. In the latter part of the year they took up Hebrew grammar.

Sophomores continued their recitations in the Greek and Hebrew books they had studied as freshmen. Perhaps Flynt deserves fame as a precursor of the progressive educator, for the classical content of his curriculum ends here. Presumably Flynt thought his boys at Harvard could by this time read Latin and Greek well enough to continue on their own, and it may well be that some of the works in the Cambridge curriculum, taken as a model by Harvard, were read now in the preparatory years. Certainly no college graduate of 1723 was entirely unfamiliar with Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal, not to mention Aristotle in the field of Greek literature.

Morison comments,

"From the small number of classical texts that have come down to us with marks of student ownership, we can only infer that these were read intensively rather than extensively - as indeed the classics continued to be studied in Harvard and in other American colleges until nearly the end of the nineteenth century."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., I, 146.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., I, 175.

The few classical texts that are extant from seventeenth-century Harvard include works of Aphthonius, Aristotle, Cicero, Hesiod, Theocritus, Homer, Isocrates, Florus, Sallust, Sophocles, and Terence.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Morison's opinion is that "we may be fairly certain that almost every Harvard student brought from school to college a Bible, a Latin lexicon, an edition of Cicero, and the Colloquies of Erasmus."<sup>22</sup>

A book "owned by sundry undergraduates" was Crespin's anthology of Greek verse, representing such authors as Hesiod, Theognis, Phocylides, Pythagoras, the two Simonides, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and selections from Middle and New Comedy.<sup>23</sup> Thus the Harvard student might even read works written for the ancient theater, for in addition to the Crespin anthology, with Alexis, Antiphanes, Philemon, and Menander, at the library<sup>24</sup> he had access to Melanchthon's edition of Euripides, an edition of Sophocles' tragedies, and a folio Aristophanes. For reading of another sort, there were Demosthenes and Herodotus.<sup>25</sup>

Might it be expected that students would take advantage of the opportunity to read so many distinguished classics?

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., I, 154.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., I, 159.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., I, 197.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the Harvard Library, see Ibid., I, 285-297.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., I, 199.



Certainly not every student would have read any given volume, but his life was spared the time-consuming extra curricular activities of a later era. Philip A. Bruce remarks,

"At that period (the seventeenth century), when the collections of books were comparatively small, each volume was perused with more frequency, and its contents were more thoroughly mastered; it is this fact which largely accounts for the dilapidated condition distinguishing so many of these collections at the time of their appraisal. Read and reread, the classical works of Greece and Rome became a part of the daily lives of those whose learning enabled them to enjoy the unequalled beauties of these ancient writers.<sup>26</sup>

He is writing about Virginia, but the remark is equally apropos with regard to any of the American colonies.

From Brown University we have papers of Solomon Drowne of the Class of 1773 to give some idea of the study of classics at that institution at the end of the period under consideration. Drowne recorded in 1770 that he began Horace, Longinus, and Lucian in October and French in December. The following year he commenced Xenophon in February, the Iliad in July, and Longinus in October; while in 1772 he started reading Cicero's De Oratore in February and began the study of Hebrew grammar in December.<sup>27</sup>

Almost exactly a decade later, the College Laws of 1783 show what classics were then read:

"The following are the classics appointed for the first year, in Latin, Virgil, Cicero's Orations and Horace, all in usum Delphini. In Greek, the New Testament, Lucian's Dialogues and Xenophon's Cyropaedia; --For the

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<sup>26</sup> Op. Cit., I, 443.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Walter C. Bronson, The History of Brown University Providence, 1914, pp. 102-103.

second year, in Latin, Cicero De Oratore and Caesars Commentaries; in Greek Homer's Iliad and Longinus On the Sublime .... For the fourth year ... the Languages, Arts and Sciences studied in the foregoing years, to be accurately reviewed."<sup>28</sup>

When King's College (now Columbia University) was founded in 1754 in New York, the public announcement stated that "children must know Latin and Greek grammar, 'be able to make grammatical Latin,' be able to read several of Cicero's orations, parts of the Aeneid, and 'some of the first Chapter of the Gospel of St. John, in Greek'".<sup>29</sup>

In 1763 a plan of education was adopted which included the following classical works in the first year: Sallust, Caesar, Ovid's Metamorphoses "et alia", Vergil's Aeneid, Aesop's Fables (in Greek), Lucian's Dialogues, and the New Testament in Greek. Freshmen also read Grotius' De Veritate and made translations from Latin to English and back again. Finally, they wrote themes in Latin as well as in English. In their second year they read Cicero's "Officia et alia," Quintus Curtius, Terence's Comedies, Ovid's Epistles, Vergil's Aeneid and Georgics; continued the Greek Testament; and went on to Epictetus' Enchiridion and Xenophon's Institutio Cyri and Expedition. To the translations and themes in the two languages were now added verses in Latin and English.

Juniors studied Cicero's Orations and De Oratore, Quintilian's Institutes and Orations, Pliny's Letters, Catullus,

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>29</sup> John H. Van Amringe and others, A History of Columbia University, 1754-1904, New York, 1904, p. 443.

Tibullus, Propertius, and Horace in Latin, while for Greek reading they had Aristotle's Ethics and Poetics, Plato's Dialogues, Xenophon's Memorabilia, the Idylls of Theocritus, and the Iliad. During this year they began syllogistic disputations in Latin, and they learned to declaim in that language, while at the same time they continued their verse-making. In their last year the works they studied included Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, the histories of Livy and Tacitus, Lucan's Pharsalia, the satires of Juvenal and Persius, and the comedies of Plautus in Latin. In Greek there were the Odyssey; the tragedies of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aeschylus; Thucydides and Herodotus; Longinus On The Sublime; Demosthenes; Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and Isocrates. Seniors studied Hebrew, too, and now began to write philosophical essays in Latin and English, in addition to all the previous exercises.<sup>30</sup> This "revised curriculum of 1763 was substantially a copy of that of Queen's College, Oxford."<sup>31</sup>

From the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) freshman Joseph Shippen wrote to his father in 1752, "At seven in the morning we recite to the President lessons in the works of Xenophon, in Greek ..." Part of the morning he studied Cicero's De Oratore and Hebrew grammar, while in the afternoon he worked at Xenophon and ontology.<sup>32</sup> Doubtless he did not

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 450-451.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 205, "The Development of the University," by Monroe Smith.

<sup>32</sup> John MacLean, History of the College of New Jersey, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1877, I, p. 140-141.

find his studies too arduous, for in October, 1748, the following admissions policy had been adopted:

"None may expect to be admitted to college but such as being examined by the President and Tutors shall be found able to render Virgil and Tully's Orations into English; and to turn English into true and grammatical Latin; and to be so well acquainted with the Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English; and to give the grammatical connexion of the words."<sup>33</sup>

An account of the studies at the College of New Jersey during the presidency of the Reverend Samuel Finley (1761-1766) reveals that freshmen read Horace, Cicero's orations, the Greek Testament, Lucian's Dialogues, and Xenophon's Cyropaedia, while sophomores passed on to Homer, Longinus, "etc." Seniors, it is reported, "now revise the most improving parts of Latin and Greek classics, part of the Hebrew Bible, and all the arts and sciences."<sup>34</sup>

It is evident from the foregoing that the classical content from time to time and from college to college varied in volume -- as it did also in proportion to other studies.<sup>35</sup> It will be noticed, however, that certain authors--Homer, Cicero, Vergil--appear in almost every one of the accounts, most of which include books that are hardly more than names even to graduates in classics today. The classical content of the typical curriculum during the period under consideration was greater than that of a good classics program today in many colleges.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., I, 132-133

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., I, 266. Cf. also T. J. Wertenbaker, Princeton, 1746-1896 (Princeton, 1946), pp. 89-94, for an account of the classics in the curriculum of the (then) College of New Jersey.

<sup>35</sup> Discussions of curricula will be found in the works cited above.

Not only did the undergraduate of, say, 1700 read a great many books in both Latin and Greek, but in a few schools he was still expected to speak Latin to his classmates and teachers. The mediaeval universities had all employed Latin and forbidden the vernacular, and the tradition of Latin textbooks, Latin lectures, Latin prayers, and Latin conversation lingered on long after the Reformation had assured the ascendancy and eventual triumph of English.<sup>36</sup>

Thus it can be seen that the college graduate of the Colonial period was a man well versed in both Greek and Latin, and in many (if not most) cases, Hebrew also. He had written essays, debated, and perhaps conversed<sup>37</sup> for four years or more in Latin, and by the time he received his degree that language should have been almost as familiar to him as his mother tongue. Greek never achieved quite the same status as Latin, and even among scholars one would have had to seek a while to overhear a conversation in the language of Socrates, but most college men could read it with the aid of a lexicon,

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<sup>36</sup> To this day at the Convocations of the two Provinces (York and Canterbury) of the Church of England, both service and sermon are in Latin, and the Latin Prayer Book (translated from English!) is still used on occasion also at Oxford and Cambridge, where Latin is a "language understood of the people."

<sup>37</sup> For an account of the neglect of colloquial Latin at Cambridge, see Morison, The Founding of Harvard College, p. 61.

and among the clergy ignorance of Greek was a reproach.<sup>38</sup>

The parson of Colonial Virginia was, as a rule, a man who could maintain his part in any intellectual or social gathering in the Colony.

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, Boston and New York, 1925, pp. 37-38, 150-151.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PARSONS AND THEIR BOOKS

One of the best ways to ascertain the intellectual pursuits of a man is to investigate the contents of his library. Until the nineteenth century, when the increased supply of books, lower cost, and general availability made it possible to indulge even a moderate interest in letters, only the wealthy could afford to buy books for "show", as some are reported to have done. For all others, books were far too expensive and too hard to obtain. It may be assumed, therefore, that when a Colonial parson bought a book he read it, and in many cases actually read it to pieces, as is evidenced by the number of entries in old inventories, "a peece of an old book, much damnified."

In the appraisal of an estate it was common practice to estimate the value of the library collectively. Occasionally, however, an assiduous executor took the time and the trouble to write out each separate title. There are extant today no fewer than seven such inventories of the libraries of Colonial Virginia parsons, or (in two cases) of men who were licensed for Virginia but died before they reached their destination.<sup>A</sup>

In 1635 the Reverend John Goodborne set out for Virginia and died at sea.<sup>1</sup> The inventory of his estate includes the

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<sup>A</sup> See Appendix D

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia, San Marino, California, 1940, pp. 136-137.

titles of one hundred ninety-one books which he had selected to bring with him to the New World. The library, says Louis B. Wright, was "significant for its emphasis upon classical authors. Since it was selected to be the working library of an Anglican clergyman, religious works naturally predominated, but equally notable is the fact that ... over twenty-five (titles) are those of Greek and Latin writers."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Goodborne possessed the Iliad, Plutarch's Lives, in Latin and in English, a Latin translation of Thucydides, Aristotle in Greek and Latin, Pindar, Isocrates, Quintilian, the De Animalium Natura of Claudius Aelianus, an anthology of minor Greek poets, and Latin and English versions of Vergil (one of which was evidently illustrated). He also owned editions of Horace, Ovid, Plautus, Terence (in English as well as Latin), Juvenal, Persius, Cicero, Seneca, Caesar, Suetonius, and Justinus. There were in the collection a dictionary of poetry and "that invaluable anthology of classical selections, Natalis Comes's Mythologiae, a Renaissance compilation that provided many a poor scholar with quotations enough to give him an air of infinite learning."<sup>3</sup> Several books in the collection suggest that Goodborne expected or intended to teach, since he had textbooks to teach Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as Ascham's The Schoolmaster and

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



Brinsley's Ludus Literarius; or, The Grammar School. Wright observes that "Goodborne's library must not be taken as typical of the collections gathered by Virginia planters, but it does suggest the kind of books a minister believed necessary to spiritual and intellectual salvation in the colony."<sup>4</sup>

The Reverend Thomas Teackle was a clergyman who came to Virginia during the years of the Commonwealth, settled in Accomack County, and ministered to parishes in both counties on the Eastern Shore of Virginia between 1652 and 1694. When he died his extensive library was divided among three of his four children.<sup>5</sup>

Teackle's library included a number of works by classical authors, both Greek and Latin. The latter predominate, with editions reported of Ovid's Metamorphoses, Horace (two editions),

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. William and Mary Quarterly, Series II, Volume 23, (1943) pp. 298-308. The fourth child, Margaret, had scandalized the entire Eastern Shore by a party which she gave in her father's absence and which lasted, to everyone's horror, beyond the hour of divine service on Sunday and culminated in her giving away several items of furniture and some articles from her own hope chest. Parson Teackle sued and recovered them. Perhaps Margaret's interests were not intellectual at all, as she is not mentioned in the division, or possibly she had died.

Juvenal ("Satyrs"), Lucan, Martial, and Persius among the poets. Latin prose works and authors in his collection included Familiar Letters, (presumably Cicero's), Seneca, Justin's Histories, an edition of Peter Lombard, a book which may have been Caesar, Suetonius, Cicero's De Officiis, De Sacerdotiis et Magistratibus, (attributed to Fenestella, but written in the fourteenth century by Ficocchi of Florence), Sallust, and St. Jerome.

There were fewer volumes in Greek, and those which Teackle possessed are not numbered among the masterpieces of Greek literature. Editions of Lucian and Aphthonius are listed in the inventory among Latin books, though both were probably in Greek. Teackle owned also a fifth volume of an edition of St. John Chrysostom, Dio Cassius ("a broken book"), a work of Athanasius, and a collection of lesser Greek poets.

The clerk who copied the inventory into the county records evidently did not share the parson's erudition, for he displayed sad lapses of orthography on occasion. Is "Augustini Barbosa JVD Lusitani", for example, a work of St. Augustine? How should "Apathegmata exprobatia Graca &c" be classified? "Homiliae Bedae Hyemales" was apparently in Latin; is it to be identified with works of the Venerable Bede?

Teackle owned grammars of Greek and Latin as well as two Greek-Latin lexica, a copy of "Flores Doctorum insignium

tum Graecorum &c," an epitome of Roman history, and "a small Greek book with some Lating at the end."

If condition is any indication, the parson must have been fond of Horace's poetry, for of the two editions which he had, one was "an old Book", and the other "an old book very much damnified".

Among a number of "Medical Books" was listed "Grammatica Ebrae &c", surely a most unusual classification. One wonders what the clerk thought of the Hebrew characters--and what he thought of medicine.

Charles Pasteur was a native of Virginia who set out to England to secure holy orders and, like Goodborne, died on the return voyage. An inventory of his estate, recorded, with his will, in 1736, in Henrico County,<sup>6</sup> shows that he possessed texts of Phaedrus, Vergil, Ovid, ("eight volumes"), Horace, Juvenal and Persius, Sallust, Caesar, Patrick's Erasmus, "Tullii Orationes Delphini," "Officia Minellii" (possibly an edition of Cicero's *De Officiis*), "Epistole ad Familiares," probably Cicero's *Ad Familiares*, a copy of Lilly's *Grammar*, a six-volume edition of Clarendon's *History*, "Creeches Horace," the latter's "Oads", a copy of Grotius' works, and two "old" Latin Testaments.

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<sup>6</sup> Henrico County Records, Deeds and Wills, 1725-1737, p. 574. Microfilm copy in Virginia State Library. Cf. Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. 10, pp. 404-405.

Conspicuously, the only Greek book is a Testament; this points up the fact that in Colonial Virginia instruction in Greek was doubtless hard to come by outside the College of William and Mary.

In 1749 an inventory was made of the estate of the Reverend David Stuart, late of St. Paul's Parish, Stafford County (now King George County)<sup>7</sup>. His library of forty-eight titles included only three works from ancient times--and one of those was apparently a translation. This is the smallest number of classical works found in an inventory, and it is noteworthy that all three, the Enchiridion of Epictetus, the Fables of Aesop (probably a translation), and a Bible, were Greek. No Latin works appear.

The inventory of the estate of the Reverend William Kay of Lunenburg County was recorded in 1764<sup>8</sup> by a clerk who was discouraged by Latin and Greek titles, for, while he wrote down each title of the English works as he came to them, he simply lumped together in one entry, "Sixty Latin Books & Pamphlets," valued at six pounds. This lot probably included some Greek works, as Colonial recorders are known

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<sup>7</sup> Stafford County Records, Deed Book O, pp. 62-63. Photostatic copy in Virginia State Library.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. William and Mary Quarterly, Series I, Vol. 9, (1900-1901) pp. 165-168.

to have ignored the difference between Latin and Greek on occasion. Titles listed separately, and presumably for the most part in English, include Flavius Josephus, Ekjard's Roman History, Smith's Longinus, Terence, Fortunatus (the hymnographer of Gaul?), Aesop's Fables, a volume of Kennet's Roman Antiquities and two of Potter's Greek Antiquities. Kay also owned The Schoolmaster's Assistant, though there is no record that he taught.

The inventory of Reverend Adam Menzies' estate in Northumberland County in 1767<sup>9</sup> shows that in his library were copies of Rollin's Ancient History, Caesar's Commentaries, the "Travels of Cyrus" (is this Xenophon?), Cicero's De Oratore, the "Morals" of Epictetus, Davidson's Vergil, the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, Josephus, Cicero's Orationes, Disputationes Tusculanae, De Finibus, and De Officiis in four volumes, Euripides, Martial, a second volume of "Antiquities of Greece," Horace in Latin, and the lexicons of Schrivilius and Scapula. There was also in the library of two hundred thirty-one titles a work definitely in French, Morale Cretienne. Menzies must have possessed also Bibles, or at least New Testaments, in both ancient languages.

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<sup>9</sup> Northumberland County Record Book, 1766-1770, pp. 120-121. Photostatic copy in Virginia State Library.

The Reverend John Moncure is shown by his inventory<sup>10</sup> to have had a library of one hundred thirty-seven titles, which included a good number of classics, among them Vergil, Cicero's Oration, Ovid's "Epistles with his Amours," a version of Horace and his Ars Poetica, Eusebius, the Greek minor poets, Yardley's Ovid in two volumes, the Iliad (four volumes) and the Odyssey, Sallust ("in Latin"), "Marshall's" Epigrams, as well as the Bible in Latin and French, and a copy of Don Quixote in the latter language. The entire collection was appraised at £51.9.

The Reverend Goronwy Owen<sup>11</sup> left a large library when he died in Brunswick County in 1770, but once again the appraiser, having listed the English titles separately, lumped the foreign ones: "A parcel of old Authors, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Welch, and French, in number, 150"--valued at £3.0.4.<sup>12</sup> The only works relevant to this study listed by title are Mainwaring's Account of Classical Authors, Walker's Epictetus, and "Terrence's Play, by ---." While these latter two were apparently translations, Owen's library was significant, like Goodborne's, for the number of classical authors it contained. Fortunately, although we do not know what books Owen possessed when he died, we do know considerable from other sources about his classical reading.

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<sup>10</sup> Stafford County Records, Deed Book, Liber C, pp. 500-502. Photostatic copy in Virginia State Library.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter IV.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. William and Mary Quarterly, Series I, Vol. 9, (1900-1901) p. 164.

In the case of other inventories, the information given is just enough to arouse curiosity without satisfying it. For instance, what were the titles of the four hundred volumes which the Reverend James Maury (of "Parsons' Cause" fame, and forebear of Matthew Fontaine Maury) left at his death in 1774?<sup>13</sup> Presumably these included a number of classics, for Commissary Blair wrote the Bishop of London in 1741 (when Maury went to England for ordination) that he had "made good proficiency in the study of Latin and Greek authors,"<sup>14</sup> and Jonathan Boucher praised his style of writing.<sup>15</sup> What specific books were in the library appraised at £22.1 when the Reverend John Bagge died in Essex County in 1726?<sup>16</sup> An even larger collection must have belonged to the Reverend St.

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<sup>13</sup> Albermarle County Records, Will Book #2, p. 256. Photostatic copy in Virginia State Library.

<sup>14</sup> William and Mary Quarterly, Series I, Vol. 1, (1892-93) p. 220.

<sup>15</sup> Op. Cit., p. 61. Maury, however, questioned whether a classical education was desirable - as he observed that it obviously was not necessary - for most Virginians of his day, on the ground that they had so much to learn that would be necessary throughout their lives, that the knowledge of Greek and Latin, to the exclusion of more pragmatic studies, might be "bought too dear." Cf. Papers of the Albermarle County Historical Society, Vol. II, (1941-2) pp. 36-70.

<sup>16</sup> Essex County Records, Wills, Bonds, Inventories, #4, p. 192. Photostatic copy in Virginia State Library.

John Shropshire of Westmoreland (d. 1718), for his "liberary" was appraised at sixty pounds, a great sum in the early eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Ralph Watson owned "thirty greate bookes in folio most of them \*\*\* and the authour about fifty bookes in \*\*\* of them being lattin bookes."<sup>18</sup>

Concerning the libraries of many clergymen there is little or no information available today. James Blair left all his books to the Library at William and Mary.<sup>19</sup> Since he held a scholarship in Greek while at Edinburgh,<sup>20</sup> he is presumed to have been well grounded in the classics, and to have owned a number of them. In his extensive correspondence the only reference relative to the classics was a quotation

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<sup>17</sup> Westmoreland County Records, Deeds and Wills, #6, 1716-1720, p. 458. Photostatic copy in Virginia State Library.

<sup>18</sup> York County Records #2, Wills and Deeds, 1645-1649, p. 83. Photostatic copy in Virginia State Library. (The hiatuses appear where the edge of the page in the original records has been destroyed.)

<sup>19</sup> Letter of Governor Gooch, 1743, printed in William Stevens Perry, Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church, Virginia volume, Hartford, 1870, p. 367.

<sup>20</sup> Brydon, op. cit., I, 276.



from Terence: "Obsequium amicos veritas odium parit,"  
 (Andria, I. 41) while he was involved in a dispute with  
 Mungo Inglis, Master of the Grammar School.<sup>21</sup>

Blair, however, reflected some of his training in  
 the classical languages in a series of sermons on the Sermon  
 on the Mount.<sup>22</sup> In discussing the text, he quoted the Greek  
 original several times<sup>23</sup>, and in the exegesis he quoted or  
 alluded to at least six Latin classical authors and one Greek  
 writer as well as the church Fathers, St. Augustine and St.  
 Jerome. In speaking of life after death he cited the views  
 of Socrates, Seneca and Cicero<sup>24</sup> and elsewhere wrote "the  
 Heathen world ... had little or no notion of a future state  
 of Rewards and Punishments; most of them looked upon that  
 part of the Doctrine of their Poets and other writers as  
 altogether fabulous. (Fabulaeque manes. Hor.)"<sup>25</sup> The refe-

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<sup>21</sup> Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. 8 (1901) p. 379.

<sup>22</sup> James Blair, Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount,  
 4 volumes, London, 1740 (second edition).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., I, 95, 103, 290, 353.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., II, 435.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., I, 453.

rance is to Horace's Odes, I. iv. 16. He quotes Horace in another context:<sup>26</sup>

"Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus  
Inciderit." (Ars Poetica, 191-2)

Vergil and Juvenal also are cited, the former in a way which shows that Blair was quoting from memory and that he was careful to make the meter correct.<sup>27</sup> In the Aeneid, iv. 293-4, Vergil wrote mollissima fandi/tempora; Blair has molliia tempora fandi.

Blair quoted Juvenal and Tacitus in discussing the  
Jews:

"Tacitus gives this character of the Jews: Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu; sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium; that is, they had a staunch honesty, and a ready charity among themselves, but hated all others like Enemies." (Tacitus, Histories, v. 5.) And so Juvenal tells us it was their custom to deny even common civilities to all that were not of their own Nation and Religion, such as the shewing a Traveller the way, or directing him to a Spring where he might have a draught of water.

'Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,  
Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos'."  
(Satires, xiv. 103-4.)<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., II, 328.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., II, 392.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., II, 401-2.

Blair indicates that he shared the prevalent concept of theology as divided into two branches, natural and revealed, and he supports his argument at one point by quoting Seneca:

Severa res est verum gaudium. (Ep. Mor.  
xxiii. 4.)<sup>29</sup>

Again, he writes, "So that I do not wonder that even Tully a heathen, from the mere Force of Reason, in a treatise of Friendship, lays it down as a Principle: Hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis Amicitiam esse non posse,"<sup>30</sup> this is an allusion to De Amicitia, xx. 74, "nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi bonis amici esse non possunt."

Finally, in an evident thrust against the enthusiastic sects, he writes:

"The zealous Gentlemen that insist so earnestly for the good Government and Discipline of the ancient Church, as if it were absolutely necessary to Salvation, put me in mind of a just complaint of Tully's against Cato, that he gave his Opinion always in the Senate as if he had been living in Plato's Commonwealth, and not among the days of Romulus."<sup>31</sup>

From the citations in these sermons, which were intended for delivery to his congregation at Bruton Parish Church, it may safely be inferred that Blair had maintained his reading knowledge of Latin, at least, and more than likely of Greek, although the evidence is not positive in the second instance.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., I, 350.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., II, 419.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., I, 252.

The replies to the Queries of 1724, sent by the Bishop of London to all parishes in Virginia, provide some illuminating insights into the book supply at that date. One of the questions was whether there was a parish library. (Usually there was not.) To this question James Cox of Westminster Parish replied that he had one of Dr. Bray's libraries--the only one so reported.<sup>32</sup> William Black of Accomack reported that his parishioners would be grateful if someone would donate books, for "we live at so great a distance from the opportunities of such means,"<sup>33</sup> while John Cargill went more directly to the point: "What few books I have are my own purchase. Your Lordships will be very naturally led to believe that I must labor under difficulties for want of Books when you observe that my Salary is such a poor allowance for the maintenance of my family."<sup>34</sup>

Finally, eight books of the Reverend Christopher MacRae are now in the Virginia Diocesan Library in Richmond. This is obviously not his complete library, as it includes no Prayer Book. The titles are all modern ones, including the sermons of Dr.

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<sup>32</sup> Perry, op. cit., p. 262.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 307.

Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the familiar Cruden's Concordance. Several of these books, however, presuppose a knowledge of Latin and/or Greek,<sup>35</sup> and one of them, of Hebrew and Syriac as well.<sup>36</sup>

In conclusion, it may be said that in almost every instance where anything is known about the library or reading of a Colonial Virginia minister, it can be shown that he owned classical works or read as extensively in the classics as opportunity and his means allowed; while those men who were able to afford large libraries almost invariably possessed a goodly number of representative classical authors.

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<sup>35</sup> E.g., Edward Stillingfleet, Origines Sacrae, Cambridge, 1702.

<sup>36</sup> The Works of Henry Hammond, (?) vols., Vols 2 and 4, London, 1684.

## CHAPTER IV

GORONWY OWEN, SAMUEL HENLEY AND JONATHAN BOUCHER:

### THREE CLASSICISTS

It is a sad commentary upon the destruction of Colonial Virginia records, that the detailed knowledge of the classical learning of the three men discussed at length in this chapter is drawn from English sources. If Goronwy Owen had not been a poet before he came to the New World, or if Samuel Henley and Jonathan Boucher had not returned to England at the outbreak of the American Revolution, in all probability there would be no record of their study of the classics other than, perhaps, an occasional quotation from Juvenal or Cicero, as is the case with Morgan Godwyn, a graduate of Oxford, who quoted Juvenal, II. 63:

"Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas,"<sup>1</sup>  
to emphasize a point. Or perhaps someone reported that William Dawson delivered a Latin oration at the funeral of Sir John Randolph in 1737.<sup>2</sup> Or, again, there might be a character sketch which asserts that the subject was well educated. Such is the memorial biography<sup>3</sup> of John Buchanan, rector of St. John's,

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Brydon, op. cit., I 513.

<sup>2</sup> Virginia Historical Register, Vol. 4, (1851), p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> George Wythe Munford, The Two Parsons, Richmond, 1884.

Richmond, which calls him "distinguished as a classical scholar,"<sup>4</sup> and reprints a little piece of doggerel verse in Latin which he wrote in jest to a friend.

"A nativo Caledoniae, loci inclyti  
 Secundo visu et cacoethe -  
 Ad Joannem D. B.,  
 Cur non dicam D. D.?  
 Accept the specs which now I send;  
 They are the present of a friend.  
 Upon your text they'll throw more light,  
 And they will give the second sight.  
 Your answer, I may well suppose,  
 Will not be given in simple prose;  
 In rhyme I've gone beyond my pitch,  
 Alas! from you I've got the itch."<sup>5</sup>

Buchanan had been duped by an impostor; hence the reference to "second sight". The poem was addressed to a friend, the Rev. John D. Blair, whose initials Buchanan uses in a flattering pun on B. D. and D. D.

A few other men by their own writings indicated that they were competent classicists. Alexander Whitaker, for instance, in a report from Virginia<sup>6</sup> quoted Vergil and Thomas Aquinas, demonstrated a knowledge of Hebrew, and showed, by Latin phrases interspersed occasionally, that colloquial Latin must

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 453 (quoting the Richmond "Enquirer", December 22, 1822.)

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> Good News from Virginia, New York, n. d. Unpaged.

have been familiar to him. William Crashawe reported that "hee is able to haue written it in Latine or in Greeke."<sup>7</sup>

Nathaniel Eaton studied under William Ames at Franeker in Holland before coming to the New World as the first head of the institution which became Harvard University.<sup>8</sup> Disturbed by the unconcerned Sabbath-breaking of the Hollanders,<sup>9</sup> he resolved to inquire what the Church Fathers had had to say about Sabbath observance. The result was a small volume written in Latin.<sup>10</sup> Eaton quoted or cited Josephus (in Latin)<sup>11</sup>, St. Cyprian,<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> In Epistle Dedicatorie, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Eaton "was appointed in 1637; and was entrusted, not only with the education of the students, but with the care of managing the donations and erecting buildings for the college." Benjamin Peirce, A History of Harvard University, Cambridge, 1833, p. 4. Not until March, 1639, did the institution become known as Harvard College. Ibid., p. 3. For several years Eaton was assistant in Hungars Parish, Northampton County.

<sup>9</sup> "Blue" laws are a peculiarly English heritage.

<sup>10</sup> Nathaniel Eaton, Gulielmi Amesii Sententia de Origine Sabbati et die Dominico (erroneously attributed to William Ames in this edition), Amsterdam, 1658, a copy of which the writer examined in the Harvard Library.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 13.



Aristobulus apud Eusebius,<sup>13</sup> St. Augustine,<sup>14</sup> Josephus again—this time in Greek,<sup>15</sup> Horace (his excuse that it was "tricesima Sabbata," (Satires, I. 9, 69) in his encounter with the bore)<sup>16</sup>, Tertullian (Contra Marcionem and De Idolis)<sup>17</sup>, St. Ambrose,<sup>18</sup> and St. John Chrysostom,<sup>19</sup> all in Latin except in the one instance noted. Presumably he had read more or less widely in the classics, but the only evidence in this volume is the quotation from Horace.

Devereux Jarratt revealed in his autobiography<sup>20</sup> that his schooling had ended when he was twelve or thirteen<sup>21</sup> and that he had entered upon the study of Latin when he was twenty-five

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 43, 52.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> The Life of Devereux Jarratt, Written by Himself, Baltimore, 1806. Cf. William and Mary Quarterly, third ser., 9 (1952), 346-393, where portions of the book are reprinted. Jarratt was Rector of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, 1763-1801.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

years old and was considering taking holy orders:

"I had never seen the rudiments of the Latin Language, in all my life, nor had I learned a word in any grammar whatever. But such was the strength of my memory then, that in eight days, I could so perfectly repeat every part of the grammar, that I began to construe, give the parts of speech, etc. In seven months I began to read Suetonius, one of the most difficult Latin authors in prose--in a word, I had acquired such knowledge of the Latin and Greek, in that year, that my generous friends were released from their burden<sup>22</sup>--as I was capable of improving myself, and teaching others also.<sup>23</sup>

He also permitted himself a modest boast about his library: "Few clergymen have, I believe, a better library than I have, either in the number or excellency of the books it contains."<sup>24</sup> In a book of sermons he discoursed upon the precise meaning of the Greek word παιδεία,<sup>25</sup> but since his sermons were "adapted to the meanest capacities,"<sup>26</sup> he did not display much of the scholarship to which he laid claim.

Of all the ministers who served in Virginia during the Colonial period, one of the most interesting, and most pathetic, is the Reverend Goronwy (or Gronow) Owen, Master of the Grammar School at William and Mary, 1758-1759. After he was dismissed

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<sup>22</sup> His expenses for tutoring had been subsidized.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 53-54.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> Sermons on Various and Important Subjects, Philadelphia, 1794, 3 vols., III, 268.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

for drunkenness, he became minister of St. Andrew's Parish, Brunswick County, in 1760, where he continued until 1769. His death occurred the following year. Apparently no one in the county knew that he was one of the greatest Welsh poets of all time, for his grave is unmarked.

Goronwy Owen was born in Anglesey in 1723, the son of an idle and drunken father, and only by his mother's efforts did he receive a classical education at one of the grammar schools near his home. When he was nineteen he appealed in a letter in Latin to Owen Meyrick of London for scholarship aid to go to one of the universities in order to prepare for the ministry. He concluded, "Si paupertas pro merito habeatur, nescio quin ego sim tuo favore dignissimus."<sup>27</sup> Though his plea seems to have failed, he did matriculate at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1742. Following his years there (he apparently took no degree) he held several livings in succession, and in each instance added to his meager income by teaching.

While a schoolboy Owen had begun to compose Latin verses, several of which are extant,<sup>28</sup> in the nature of schoolboy exercises. The author soon turned to writing Welsh poetry. Since most of his work is in that language, the writer is not competent

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<sup>27</sup> Robert Jones, ed., Poetical Works of the Re. Goronwy Owen with his Life and Correspondence, 2 vols., London, 1876, II, 10-11.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Jones, op. cit., I, 1-3. Cf. also Appendix C infra.

to pronounce upon it; he can only quote the Dictionary of National Biography, which comments, "Few Welsh poets have shown a greater mastery of the language than Owen, whose classical training is reflected in the purity and suppleness of his Welsh style."<sup>29</sup> In many English passages, however, Owen showed his thorough grounding in the classics, as for example, his letter of February 21, 1753, to Richard Morris, (Morris was a leader of a group of Welsh-speaking persons in London)

"Thus the Greeks are much less confined as to quantities than the Romans. And not to detract from Virgil's deserved praise, I think Homer may justly be allowed a preference to him, almost in such a measure and proportion as an original writer is to a translator. The Romans had several words, even in their own language, that by reason of their quantities, could not possibly be put into verse. Thus Horace was at a loss to name the town Equotuticum, and was fain to describe it by a round about sort of a paraphrase. And Martial was hard put to it to name the favourite boy, Earinus, Domitian's valet. But, on the contrary, every harsh word sounded smooth in a Greek's mouth. They might sound, 'Αεεε, 'Αρεε, with an air, though they made the same syllable in the same word to be first long, and then, with the same breath, short. This Martial wittily observes of them, and at the same time as wittily laments the over-rigid severity of his own country's Muses:—

'Nobis non licet esse tam disertis

Musas qui colimus severiores.'

But with all their severity, if Martial had been acquainted with the obstinate, coy, and in-compliant temper of our British Awen, he would certainly have taken the Roman muses for a bevy of city courtezans."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XLII, p. 412.

<sup>30</sup> Jones, op. cit., II, 54. Classical references are Martial Ep. ix. 12 and Horace Sat. I, 5. 87.

In the same letter he inquired whether a laudatory address in honor of the Prince of Wales' birthday might be acceptable: "I think I could, with a little rubbing, get the rust off my Latin Muse on such an occasion ....."<sup>31</sup>

Later in the same year Owen, in a sportive mood, wrote again to Morris, observing that he had never seen an inquiry into the proportion of dactyls to spondees in Vergil's poetry. " ... I am persuaded," he added, "had anyone taken it into his head to carry on such a piece of criticism on one of his Eclogues in Pope's days, he would have had an honourable place in the 'Dunciad' for it."<sup>32</sup>

In yet another letter to the same correspondent, this time in Welsh, Owen appealed for editions of some of the minor Latin poets. The names, however, which appear in the text are those of Hesiod, Theocritus, and Horace.<sup>33</sup> The following year, addressing Morris again, he commented: "I lately took a fancy to my old acquaintance Anacreon. And as he had some hand in teaching me Greek, I have endeavoured to teach him to talk a little Welsh, and that in metre too."<sup>34</sup> He sent his translation

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., II, 55.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., II, 81-32.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., II, 134.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., II, 146.

and reminded Morris that both Greek and Welsh versions had the same number of syllables, and that the translation was almost verbatim. Jones comments, "The Greek lyrist appears as vigorous and bright of lineament in the new dress, wherein the Welsh bard has arrayed him, as in his original and native garb."<sup>35</sup> Though Owen liked Anacreon (as he thought), and Ovid among the Romans, he considered Homer and Vergil to be far better poets.<sup>36</sup>

The most ambitious of Owen's Latin verses extant is a gratulatory ode in twenty-one Sapphic strophes, "on the Birth of Lord Ludlow, the oldest son of the Earl of Powis."<sup>37</sup> There are several classical references within the poem, such as the reference to the return of a golden age, which immediately suggests Vergil's Fourth Eclogue and the opening lines of Ovid's.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., II, 154. Two works of the total of three such which Owen translated are Anacreontics. Cf. the Loeb Classical Library edition, Elegy and Iambus, II, Anacreontea, p. 52, with Jones, op. cit., I, 95-96, and p. 70 of the former with p. 97 of the latter. Cf. Anthologia Lyrica, edited by Edward Hiller and Otto Crusius, Leipzig, 1907, p. 351, (No. 21) with pgs. 96-97 of Jones' work.

<sup>36</sup> Jones, op. cit., II, 159.

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix C for Owen's Latin Verse.

Metamorphoses. The expression Punica fides, he observed in a note of his own, was coined by Sallust. Not only did Owen compose his poem in Latin; he made a Welsh translation "of great beauty"<sup>38</sup> and an English version as well.<sup>39</sup>

The catalogue of Owen's extant poetry in Latin is short. The three early poems<sup>40</sup> composed in elegiac couplets, of twelve, sixteen, and sixteen lines respectively, contain little of interest, save an allusion to Horace<sup>41</sup> in the second poem:

"Kyboei templum petito cum vestibus udis,  
Quas suspende, memor quanta pericla fugis."<sup>42</sup>

(Kybi was a Welsh saint, a footnote informs us.) An observation remarkably astute for a schoolboy occurs in the third of these short works:

"Quando Deucalion lapides jactavit in orbem,  
Non illum lapides mollificasse reor;  
In cor durities lapidis migravit, et illic  
Restat adhuc nullis mollificanda modis."<sup>43</sup>

The allusion to Ovid's story of the Flood<sup>44</sup> is obvious.

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<sup>38</sup> Jones, op. cit., II, 218.

<sup>39</sup> Jones prints this immediately following the other two versions, which he arranges, the Latin beneath the Welsh.

<sup>40</sup> Jones, op. cit., I, 1-3.

<sup>41</sup> Odes, I, 5.

<sup>42</sup> Jones, op. cit., I, 2.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., I, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Metamorphoses, I, 312-414.

The next Latin poem printed by Jones is a Sapphic ode of five strophes addressed to Richard Rathbone.<sup>45</sup> There is finally a hendecasyllabic poem of forty-nine lines, "Ad Apollinem et Musas."<sup>46</sup> Jones' footnotes to this poem refer to Catullus, Martial, Homer, and Sappho.

In 1753 Owen translated into Welsh the Latin ode which Christopher Smart had composed for presentation to the Prince of Wales on St. David's Day.<sup>47</sup> By this time alcohol had begun to overmaster him, and a scant four years later he decided to make a complete change, perhaps in the hope that he might stop drinking. Whatever the reason, in 1757 he was licensed for Virginia, whither he arrived the following year. His scholarly interests and his teaching experience procured for him the position of Master of the Grammar School at William and Mary, which post entailed the teaching of the two classical languages. Apparently, however, he became involved in some kind of riotous outbreak of students, and after only two years he was dismissed.

Regarding Owen's residence in Virginia, Jones observes that at William and Mary he must have been most useful in helping

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<sup>45</sup> Jones, op. cit., I, 5-6.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., I, 10-12.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., I, 84-90.



to fulfill the "peculiar condition" of two sets of Latin verses presented as an annual quitrent to the Governor, for "his Latinity and verses were always not only without a flaw, but elegant."<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, most of these verses have long since disappeared, and there are none from Owen's time known to be extant.

Quite possibly Owen did write some of the quitrent verses, for earlier in the century Arthur Blackamore, also Master of the Grammar School, had composed a poem, "Expeditio Ultramontana," an English verse translation of which was supplied to the Maryland Gazette by "Ecclesiasticus" and published in June, 1729.<sup>49</sup> The original has been lost, but it can be inferred from the translation, which runs to one hundred ninety-six lines, that the poem treated the exploit of Governor Spotswood in crossing the Blue Ridge Mountains as rivaling the expeditions of the heroes of old. The translation is replete with references to the gods, the Tiber, and the various other accoutrements which eighteenth-century poetry borrowed from its classical models. In the same year James Blair, President of the College, wrote the other set of verses, "On the Suppression of the Late Rebellion", no longer extant in any version.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., II, 282-283.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. William and Mary Quarterly, First Series, Vol. 7, (1898), pp. 32-37.

At the end of the Colonial period someone preserved copies of the "Latin verses spoke by two Young Gentlemen of the Co \*\*\* of William & Mary" to Governor Dunmore for several successive years.<sup>50</sup> Beyond the implication that the authors were students, there is no indication who wrote them.

This leaves open the question whether Gronow Owen "rubbed the rust off his Latin Muse" while at William and Mary. Certainly he could have provided apt and elegant verses, if asked to do so, for it was the judgment of Bishop Porteus of London that he was "the most finished writer of Latin since the days of the Roman emperors."<sup>51</sup>

Owen's thorough training in the classics is commented upon by Jones several times. He says of a wedding song in Welsh, that the reader

"who is acquainted with Greek choric poetry, will perceive a close affinity between this bridal song and some of the effusions of Aeschylus and Sophocles. While we repeat that Goronwy never steps over the limits allowable in the use of the labours of the past, there is, on almost all occasions, the true ring of ancient song in what he writes. Such is especially the case here. To none will the numbers before us be so acceptable as to those who are accustomed to the classic poetry of Greece and Rome."<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. photostatic copies of these in the William and Mary Library. (William and Mary Papers, Folder 254.) Originals among Chalmers Papers, New York Public Library.

<sup>51</sup> Jones, op. cit., II, 7.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., I, 98-99.

Thus it will be seen that Goronwy Owen was a man to whom the poetry of both Greece and Rome was quite familiar. He quoted it and alluded to it often. Doubtless few days went by that he did not sit down with some well-worn volume, much of the contents of which he had already almost memorized.

Another Colonial clergyman who is known to have read extensively in the classics is the Reverend Samuel Henley, who was Professor of Moral Philosophy at William and Mary from 1770 to 1777, when he returned to England because of his loyalist sentiments. In 1786 he made the English translation of Vathek, a romance written in French by the wealthy and eccentric William Beckford. In Henley's notes to the English version his extensive reading, not only in the classical languages but in modern ones as well, is clearly shown.

Though Samuel Henley is not reported by Goodwin<sup>53</sup> as having been trained at any college or university, it appears from his notes to Vathek that he was exceedingly well read in the classics, and even felt competent to disagree with Winckelmann about the meaning of Homer's epithet βαῶνις, applied to Hera.<sup>54</sup> There are several other references to Homer, both Iliad<sup>55</sup> and

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<sup>53</sup> Op. cit., p. 278.

<sup>54</sup> William Beckford, The History of the Caliph Vathek, Translation by Samuel Henley, London, 1892, p. 125.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp. 143, 162.

Odyssey.<sup>56</sup> He also mentions Hesiod.<sup>57</sup> Among the other poets he cites Anacreon,<sup>58</sup> Apollonius of Rhodes,<sup>59</sup> Theocritus,<sup>60</sup> and Moschus.<sup>61</sup>

The tragedians are represented in Henley's notes by quotations from Aeschylus<sup>62</sup> and Euripides.<sup>63</sup> He cites Milton's adaptation of Euripides' line (Heracleidae, 75) in "Samson Agonistes," 118.

Other Greek writers whom Henley quotes or cites include Athenaeus,<sup>64</sup> Xenophon,<sup>65</sup> Plutarch,<sup>66</sup> Herodotus,<sup>67</sup> Lucian,<sup>68</sup> Dioscorides,<sup>69</sup> and Thales.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 154, 173.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., pp. 163, 172.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 151, 152.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp. 137, 151, 157.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 152, 180.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 157, where he mentions Milton's possible indebtedness to him.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 189.

In Latin literature also Henley was widely read. He alludes to, or quotes, Tibullus,<sup>71</sup> Horace,<sup>72</sup> Vergil,<sup>73</sup> (Georgics, Eclogues, and Aeneid), about whose poetry he engages in an extensive discussion,<sup>74</sup> Propertius,<sup>75</sup> Catullus,<sup>76</sup> Ovid's Fasti,<sup>77</sup> the Servian notes to the Aeneid<sup>78</sup>, and the Cynegeticon of Nemesianus<sup>79</sup>, in the field of poetry.

Latin prose writers who are cited include St. Ambrose,<sup>80</sup> Tacitus (Histories),<sup>81</sup> Lactantius,<sup>82</sup> Varro,<sup>83</sup> and Pliny the Elder.<sup>84</sup> In a note on "chintz and muslin" Henley refers the reader to Lucretius, Petronius, Martial, Plutarch, and Pliny the Elder,

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 153, 168.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 153-156.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 155, 175.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 167, 172.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

for notices about fabrics in ancient times.<sup>85</sup> Henley also quotes Petrarch.<sup>86</sup> He demonstrates a knowledge of Hebrew,<sup>87</sup> and, lest he be accused of a one-sided devotion to moribund tongues, it may be well to note that he quotes from Tasso in Italian<sup>88</sup> and Cervantes in Spanish,<sup>89</sup> and that he displays a wide knowledge of English literature. Altogether, Beckford could not have wished for a more competent translator and annotator, for Henley was familiar with at least seven languages, viz. English, French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

Even though Henley had himself mastered seven languages, he remained keenly aware of the difficulties of learning an alien tongue, especially Latin and Greek. In a sermon preached in 1776, on the eve of the American Revolution, and of his return to England, he questioned whether it might be better to present the classics in translation, since the arduous path through grammars and lexicons to the great works of ancient times frequently soured boys and discouraged them from doing the reading for which they with so much effort had prepared themselves.<sup>90</sup> This has a modern ring,

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 158

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>90</sup> Samuel Henley, A Discourse Delivered in the Chapel of William and Mary College, Virginia, Cambridge, 1776, pp. 7-8.

indeed. It is most interesting to hear it said almost two centuries ago, and by a man who certainly cannot be accused of deprecating knowledge to which he had been unable himself to attain. One wonders whether he ever changed his mind.

The palm for sheer volume of classical reading, if extant records are to be trusted, goes without question to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher. Born in England in 1738, he never studied at a college; yet he read a tremendous number of the works of ancient authors, as is indicated by two of the extant works which he wrote.

Jonathan Boucher's father, a schoolmaster, and his mother both wished the boy to become a scholar, and accordingly he began to study Latin at the age of six.<sup>91</sup> Ten years later he migrated to America, whence he returned to England to take holy orders. Returning to Virginia in 1762, he took a parish in King George County for two years, before moving to Caroline County, where he remained until 1770. Boucher spent the following six years in Maryland and returned, as did Samuel Henley, to England at the outbreak of war.

Though Boucher had learned his Latin well as a small child, he confessed with shame in his autobiography that "at the time I am speaking of (after his ordination) I actually hardly knew the Greek alphabet, and could not have construed a single line in any Greek

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<sup>91</sup> Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. II, p. 473.

author without the Latin version."<sup>92</sup> Boucher, like many a teacher before and since, had been engaged to teach a neighborhood boy something of which he knew little, and he had to make strenuous efforts to stay ahead of his pupil: " ... by teaching him I became somewhat of a tolerable Greek scholar, and he left me with the reputation of being a very able one."<sup>93</sup> Since this episode occurred some time after his ordination, it is evident that no great stress was laid on ability to read Greek as a requirement for ordination, at least for serving in the American colonies.

Boucher soon used his newly-acquired knowledge to put to shame a neighboring clergyman, the Reverend Isaac William Giberne. Though Boucher had "now first critically examined the New Testament in the original language"<sup>94</sup> himself, he accused the other minister of "illiteracy" and, handing him a Greek Testament, challenged him to construe. Giberne either could not or would not. Boucher implies the former and comments, with evident disdain, "This Giberne was the most popular and admired preacher in Virginia, and had, not long before, preached a sermon before the House of Burgesses, which at their request was printed, and for which they

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<sup>92</sup> Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, New York, 1925, pp. 150-151.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 45.



returned him thanks."<sup>95</sup>

In 1768 Boucher was tutor to Washington's step-grandson, John Parke Custis. He wrote on the fifteenth of July of that year to Washington for a copy of Cicero's De Officiis, or his Ad Familiares, and a text of Livy.<sup>96</sup> What else the boy read of the classics under his tutor is not revealed by the correspondence with Washington.

After he had moved to Maryland Boucher decided he would like to have a plantation, and he wrote to a Mr. Addison, a friend of his, a letter full of extravagant praise of the farm, and interlarded with a generous number of quotations from Vergil (Eclogues and Georgics)<sup>97</sup>, Ovid (Metamorphoses),<sup>98</sup> Horace (Ars Poetica),<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 37-38. Giberne himself, however, was not beyond casting a few stones at ignorance. Cf. his letter to the Bishop of London, August 31, 1764, printed by Perry, op. cit., p. 502.

<sup>96</sup> Letters of Jonathan Boucher to George Washington, collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Brooklyn, 1899, p. 9.

<sup>97</sup> Boucher, Reminiscences, pp. 83, 86, 87, 91.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

Cicero,<sup>100</sup> Caesar (De Bello Gallico),<sup>101</sup> as well as several which have not been identified. (See Appendix E for the complete text of the letter.)

The work which demonstrates best Boucher's array of erudition is his Glossary.<sup>102</sup> While it took no mean scholarship in his native language to compile a glossary of provincial and archaic words, Boucher prefaced the work with an introduction containing his ideas about the development of languages and their relations to one another. He thought Hebrew was the Ursprache, and thus was led into some absurdities, but this in no way detracts from the wealth of information he brought to his subject.

The range of Latin authors cited by Boucher in the preface to his Glossary includes Tacitus (De Moribus Germanorum), on the origin of the Germans and the nature of their language<sup>103</sup> and on the Britons.<sup>104</sup> He recommends the reading of the original historians of ancient times -- "Thucydides, Herodotus, Livy, ... Tacitus" as preferable to even the best modern compilations.<sup>105</sup> He quotes Caesar concerning the Gauls' version of their ancestry:

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 83

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>102</sup> Jonathan Boucher, Boucher's Glossary of Archaic and Provincial Words, London, 1833.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. xi, xv.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. xxii.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. xxiv.

"Galli se omnes a Dite patre prognatos praedicant."<sup>106</sup> Likewise he cites Caesar's notice that Gaulish letters resembled the Greek,<sup>107</sup> and a comment about the Druids,<sup>108</sup> and about the names of the Gauls.<sup>109</sup> Other Latin authors cited include Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>110</sup> St. Jerome,<sup>111</sup> Justin,<sup>112</sup> Cicero (Academica, Pro Archia, De Oratore)<sup>113</sup>, Pliny the Elder,<sup>114</sup> Cato,<sup>115</sup> Solinus,<sup>116</sup> "Matheno, a priest and chronologer of Egypt, in his supplement to Berosus,"<sup>117</sup> Isidore of Seville,<sup>118</sup> Apuleius,<sup>119</sup> Suetonius,<sup>120</sup> and Livy.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> B. G. vi. 17; p. xi.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. xiv.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. xv.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. xi.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. xiii, xiv, xviii.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. xiii, xvi.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. ii, xviii, xxi.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. xiii, xix, xxvii.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., xiii, xix.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., xix.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., xix, obviously Manetho.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., xviii.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., xx.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., xxi.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., xxi.

Latin poets whom Boucher quotes or cites include Vergil,<sup>122</sup> Horace, (Ars Poetica, Satires, Epodes),<sup>123</sup> Lucan,<sup>124</sup> Claudian,<sup>125</sup> Lucretius,<sup>126</sup> Catullus,<sup>127</sup> and Martial.<sup>128</sup>

Boucher's feeling for style is evidenced by his comparison of Plautus to old English playwrights, of Statius Caecilius to Waller, of Vergil to Dryden or Pope, of Pliny to Lord Orrery, and of Seneca to Dr. Johnson.<sup>129</sup> While not all his analogies have stood the test of time, the fact that he made the comparisons shows that he had read the classics--and English literature--well enough to have a considerable grasp of styles. He speaks, too, of "the stately pomposity of Seneca and Lucan."<sup>130</sup>

In an endeavor to prove that the Cimmerians, Gomerians, or Cimbrians were all one people, Boucher quotes in Greek from

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. xi.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. x, xix, xx.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. xvi.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. xx.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. xxi.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. xxii.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. xix.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. xxi.

Strabo, Plutarch, Stephanus of Byzantium, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius (who wrote a commentary on Dionysius' Periegesis).<sup>131</sup> Other Greek prose writers cited are Plato (Cratylus, Timaeus)<sup>132</sup>, Herodotus,<sup>133</sup> Strabo,<sup>134</sup> Pausanias,<sup>135</sup> Ptolemy,<sup>136</sup> Diodorus Siculus,<sup>137</sup> Procopius,<sup>138</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>139</sup> Cedrenus and one of the several writers named Nicetas (in showing that Greek in the Byzantine Empire became corrupt),<sup>140</sup> Polybius,<sup>141</sup> Josephus,<sup>142</sup> and Xenophon.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. xvi.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. ii, xiii.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. ii, xvi, xxviii.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. xii, xiii, xv, xvi, xxvii.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., pp. xiii, xv.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. xv.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. xvii, xix.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. xviii.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. xviii.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. xviii.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. xxvi.

Of the Greek poets Boucher cites only Theocritus, whose "pastorals, though never rude, are as completely rustic, as to their language, as those of the Cumberland bard Ralph, or the 'Gentle Shepherd' of Allan Ramsay,"<sup>144</sup> and Homer (Iliad)<sup>145</sup>.

The catalogue of classical learning and reading presented thus in outline ranges from the greatest figures in Latin and Greek literature to mere word-mongers and proves conclusively that Boucher, in spite of his lack of college training, was a competent classical scholar, and apparently self-taught with respect to Greek.

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. ix.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. xvii.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

It will be evident from the foregoing that detailed information about the classical studies of the Colonial Virginia clergy is rarely met with: out of six hundred forty-five clergymen known or thought to have been in Virginia between 1607 and 1785, only three reveal enough of their classical knowledge to make it possible to assert unequivocally that they were widely read in, and deeply influenced by, the classics.

It should be noted that of the ministers whose libraries are discussed in Chapter III, Owen left Oxford without a degree, Kay had the same experience at Cambridge, while Pasteur had attended William and Mary without, apparently, taking a degree. Concerning Goodborne's education no information has been found, and of the other four there is no record that they attended any institution of higher learning.<sup>1</sup> Of the three men discussed at length in Chapter IV, Boucher stated that he had attended no college, while Owen, as has been noted, had attended Oxford. Concerning Samuel Henley's educational background Goodwin has nothing to say, but it is unlikely that a Professor of Moral Philosophy at William and Mary would not have been himself a college graduate. It is not unreasonable to suppose that those men who are known to

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<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, List, op. cit.

have held degrees from various colleges and universities were at least as well read in Greek and Roman literature as the men mentioned above who had no degree.

It is indeed unfortunate that Colonial records are so fragmentary; otherwise, we may be sure that many others of the Colonial clergy would stand forth in as vivid a light as do Owen, Boucher and Henley. Bruce remarks,

"Robert Hunt, Richard Buck, Hawte Wyatt, and Francis Bolton, previous to 1630, and Justinian Aylmer, Rowland Jones, John Clayton, John Clough, and James Blair, after that date, were incumbents of the pulpit at Jamestown. That we are more familiar with their lives than with those of the same number of men who, during the same period, occupied, one after another, the same benefice in some other part of Virginia, is due only to the fact that they were associated with the history of the political capital and social center of the Colony. Outside of the great towns of England, or the wealthiest and most populous of the English rural parishes, there was, in the course of the century, perhaps no single English living filled by a succession of clergymen superior to this body of men in combined learning, talents, piety, and devotion to duty; and yet, there is no reason to think that the ability, zeal, and fidelity of these ministers who occupied the pulpit at Jamestown were overshadowing as compared with the same qualities in the clergymen who, one after another, occupied any of the more important benefices in York, Surry, Elizabeth City, or Gloucester Counties, or the counties situated in the Northern Neck, or on the Eastern Shore.<sup>2</sup>

Since there are always those who are ready to tax others with all the faults which can be devised against them, it is sig-

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<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., I, 202-203.



nificant that only three charges of ignorance against particular clergymen have been found. That of Jonathan Boucher against Isaac William Giberne has already been noted.<sup>3</sup>

An anonymous letter to the Bishop of London, February 1, 1754, cites four--Mungo Marshall, George Purdie, Robert MacLaurin, and John Andrews--as ignorant, and the first three also as immoral.<sup>4</sup> Purdie and Andrews were eventually in trouble, the former dismissed from his parish for "ill-conduct" and the latter fined for drunkenness.<sup>5</sup> No record exists of any legal troubles the other two may have been involved in, and the Bishop's informant may well have been stirred by that anti-Scottish feeling which often cropped out in Virginia, since MacLaurin and Andrews at least were Scots.

In 1766 Commissary William Robinson wrote the Bishop of London concerning two candidates for holy orders:

"My Lord, I have lately joined with the Governor in recommending to your Lordship Mr. Lee Massey and Mr. Benjamin Sebastian, both candidates for Holy Orders. Mr. Lee Massey is entirely ignorant of the Greek Language, which I objected to him; he said he was well satisfied that would be no bar to him, as he was acquainted with some whom your Lordship has lately ordained for this part of the World as unacquainted with that language as himself. As Mr. Massey bears a very good moral character,

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. supra, Chapter II.

<sup>4</sup> Perry, op. cit., p. 408.

<sup>5</sup> Goodwin, List, op. cit.

but especially as he brought me the Governor's recommendatory Letter, to avoid giving offence I signed it."<sup>6</sup>

From Robinson's reluctance to recommend Massey, it is clear that he, at least, was much concerned for good learning among the clergy. It would be interesting to know what other ministers could not read Greek.

From the evidence which can be found today, it is safe to say that few, if any, Colonial clergymen in Virginia, were unable to read Latin, and that most of them doubtlessly possessed editions of at least a few of the classical Latin authors. From the analysis of libraries (see Appendix D) it appears that the poets generally exceeded prose writers in popularity. Cicero's great influence and the esteem in which he was held are reflected, too, while other prose writers appear less often. On the whole, the allusions, quotations, and inventories which survive show that the Colonial parson chose and read those Latin works which today are considered most significant.

Regarding Greek works, the evidence is too fragmentary and scattered to justify any such conclusions. Most of Virginia's Colonial clergy probably learned enough Greek to read the New Testament, and doubtless had copies of it in Greek, but there is no surviving evidence that many of them had more than one or two

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<sup>6</sup> In Perry, op. cit., p. 524.

other works in Greek. Very likely, a good proportion of these, and some of the works in Latin, were school and college textbooks. Few men ever attained the proficiency in Greek that they had in Latin, simply because they began to study the latter language earlier and kept at it longer; thus it was natural that they should have in their libraries more Latin works than Greek, and that they should show greater familiarity with Latin literature than with Greek.

The inventories of libraries, the letters of the clergy, and the books which a few of them wrote, as well as a considerable scattering of less direct references, indicate that the Colonial parson generally read and studied as much as his means permitted. In view of the isolated situation of most parishes, the difficulty of procuring books from England--it took six months or more--, and the lack in most parishes of grammar schools to teach the classical languages and thus both to create the intellectual climate and to provide the stimulus for studying, it appears all the more remarkable that most of the clergy about whose personality anything is known can be said to have drunk deeply from the two fountainheads of Western civilization, the Holy Bible and the classical authors of Greece and Rome.

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Virginia Historical Register

Virginia Magazine of History

William and Mary Quarterly Magazine

## APPENDIX A

### THE COLLEGE EDUCATION OF THE COLONIAL ANGLICAN CLERGY OF VIRGINIA

(Source: Edward L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, Milwaukee, 1927.)

#### Oxford - certain

Alford, George, BA Exeter College, 1632.

Banister, John (Magdalen) BA 1671, MA 1674.

Bewsher, James (Queens) BA 1743.

Blackamore, Arthur (Christ Church) no degree listed.

Blacknall, John (Christ Church) BA 1714. D.D.?

Blagrove, Benjamin (St. Mary's Hall) no degree listed.

Bracewell, Robert (Hart Hall) BA 1631.

Calvert, Sampson (St. Edmund's Hall) BA 1624/5.

Carnegie, John (Ballioe) MA 1695.

Coney, Peregrine ( ? ) BD 1688. (See also Cambridge (2 degrees)

Cox, James ("Oxon") BA 1713, MA 1716, BD & D.D. 1731.

(Upper Master, Harrow School, 1730-46.)

Craig, James (Christ Church) BA 1746.

Davies, Price (Jesus, Christ) BA 1754.

Dawson, Musgrave (Queen's) BA 1747.

Dawson, Thomas (Queen's) MA. (Ordained 1740.)

Dawson, William (Queen's) BA 1724/5, MA 1728, D.D. 1746/7.

Dell, Thomas (Merton) (1713, matr.)

D'Oyley, Cope (Merton) BA 1680.

## Oxford contd.

- Dudley, Samuel (St. Edmund's) Matr. 1670/1.
- Durand (Durant), William (Exeter) Matr. 1640.
- Emmerson, Arthur, Sr. (University) BA 1733.
- Farnifold, John (New) BA 1656.
- Finney, Thomas (New Inn Hall) BA 1655.
- Folliott, Edward (Hart Hall) B.C.L. 1632.
- Ford, Edward (Corpus Christi) BA 1733, MA 1736/7, BD 1744.
- Godwin, Morgan (Brasenose) (Christ Church) BA 1664/5.
- Grilliam, Lewis (Jesus) Matr. 1763.
- Gwatkin (Matr. 1763), BA (Christ Church) 1778, MA 1781.
- Hampton, Thomas (New, Corpus Christi) BA 1626/7.
- Hunt, Robert (Oxon) M.A.
- Jacob, Henry (St. Mary's Hall) BA 1583, MA 1586.
- James, Richard (St. Mary's Hall) BA 1613/4, MA 1618.
- Johnson, Thomas (Magdalen) Matr. 1770.
- Jones, Emanuel, Sr. (Oriel) BA 1691/2.
- Jones, Hugh ( ? ) MA 1715 or 1716.
- Jones, Walter (Jesus) Matr. 1717.
- Kippax, Peter (Bresenose) BA 1693.
- Latane, Lewis (Queen's) Matr. 1691.
- Lesley, Robert ( ? ) Student 1639. (See also Cambridge & Others.)
- Lewis, Roger (Jesus) Matr. 1701.
- Lidford, Matthew (Magdalen) BA 1686.
- Lyford, John (Magdalen) MA 1602.

Oxford contd.

Lyon, John (Queens) Matr. 1743.

Mallory, Philip (Corpus Christi) BA St. Mary's Hall 1637,  
MA 1639/40.

Owen, Garonway (Gronovires) (Jesus) Matr. 1742.

Patton, Thomas (Pembroke) Matr. 1704/5.

Peart, Francis (Magdalen Hall) Matr. 1719.

Phillips, William (Merton) Matr. 1724.

Pownall, Benjamin (Queen's) BA 1709, MA 1715.

Preston, William (Queen's) 1741, MA 1744.

Robinson, Thomas (Queen's) BA 1742.

Robinson, William (Oriel) BA 1740.

Sandford, Samuel (Pembroke) BA 1690 (All Soul's MA 1694).

Sclater, James (St. Edmund's) BA 1677, MA 1680.

Seagood, George (Christ Church) BA 1702, MA 1704/5.

Sellake, William (Ballioe) BA Pembroke 1636.

Shropshire, Saint John (Magdalen, Queen's) BA 1688.

Span (Spann), John (Queen's) Matr. 1704/5.

Staples, Robert (Magdalen) BA 1616/7.

Stith, William (Queen's) BA 1727/8, MA 1730 (See also W & M)

Stockton, Jonas (Brasenose) Matr. 1605/6.

Swynfen, Henry (St. Edmund Hall) BA 1720.

Thacker, Chicheley (Oriel) BA 1727/8.

Tillyard (Tillard), Arthur (All Soul's) BA 1693, MA  
(St. Alban's Hall) 1697.

Wadding, James, MA 1670

## Oxford contd.

Watson, Ralph (Brasenose) BA 1621.  
 White, George (Broadgates Hall) Matr. 1618.  
 Wood, John (Magdalen) Matr. 1658.  
 Wyatt, Hawte (Queen's) Matr. 1611.  
 (Wiatt, Haute)  
 Wyatt, John (New) BA 1670, MA 1673.  
 Wyatt, Richard (Exeter) Matr. 1661.  
 Yates, Bartholomew, Sr. (Brasenose) BA.  
 Yates, Bartholomew, Jr. (Oriel) BA 1735.  
 Yates, Robert, Sr. (Brasenose) BA 1696.  
 Yates, Robert, Jr. (Oriel) BA 1737.

Note: of the 75 listed above there were:  
     44 BA degrees  
     22 MA degrees  
     3 BD degrees  
     2 DD degrees  
     1 BCL degree, and 3 questionable.

Of the 72 total degrees listed  
     1 person received 4 degrees  
     2 persons received 3 degrees  
     12 persons received 2 degrees  
     38 persons received 1 degree and  
     22 simply Matr., or were not given.

## Cambridge - certain

Bargrave, Thomas, Clare College, Cambridge, BA 1599-1600,  
     MA 1603, BD 1610, DD. 1621.  
 Bolton, Francio (King's) BA 1613/4.  
 Bowker, James (St. John's) no degree listed.  
 Bowker, Ralph (St. John's) no degree listed.

## Cambridge contd.

- Brace, John (Worcester) no degree listed.
- Brooke, Zachariah (Sidney) BA 1693/4, MA 1697.
- Brunskill, John, Jr. (Pembroke) 1750/1, no degree listed.
- Brunskill, John (Pembroke) BA 1741/2.
- Buck, Richard (Cains) 1600, no degree listed.
- Butler, Amory (Almeric) Sidney, 1667, no degree listed.
- Butler, William (brother of Almeric) Sidney, 1664, no degree listed.
- Camm, John (Trinity) BA 1741/2.
- Carr, John (Christ's) BA 1664/5.
- Chicheley, William (Trinity) BA 1712/3, MA 1716.
- Collier, Peter (Christ's) BA 1689/90.
- Coney, Peregrine (Emmanuel) BA 1677, MA 1681 (see also Others).
- Dickson, Robert (Peterhouse) Sizar, 1734.
- Doggett, Benjamin (St. John's) BA 1658/9, MA 1662.
- Eaton, Nathanael (Trinity) 1629/30 (see also Others).
- Eburne, Samuel (St. John's) 1663.
- Evans, Jonathan (Jesus) Matr. 1698.
- Evans, Owen (St. John's) LL.B. 1707.
- Glover, Nicholas (Jesus) BA 1587/8, MA 1591.
- Graham, Richard (Queen's) BA 1742, MA 1745/6.
- Graine)  
 Graeme) Rowland (Clare) BA 1615/6, MA 1619.  
 Grayne)
- Green, Roger (St. Catherine's) BA 1634/5, MA 1638.
- Grymes, Charles (Pembroke) Sizar, 1631.
- Harrison, Thomas (Pembroke) D.D. (Sidney), BA 1637/8.
- Holt, Joseph (Jesus) BA 1688/9.

## Cambridge contd.

Harrocks, James (Trinity) BA 1755, MA 1758.

Hudson, George (Trinity) Sizar, 1686.

(Hunt, Brian (Corpus Christi) BA 1722. No record in Virginia.)

Kay, William (Trinity) (Emmanuel) Matr. 1741.

Lansdale, Peter (Lansdale) (Clare, Trinity Hall) BA 1623/4,

MA 1627.

Lawrence, John (Emmanuel) BA 1653/4.

Leake)

Leate) William (Corpus Christi) Matr. 1604.

Lecte)

LeNeve, William (St. John's) M.B. 1712.

Lesley, Robert ( ? ) MA 1641. (See also Oxford & Others.)

Lyth, John (Clare) Admitted Sizar 1751.

Manley, George (St. Catherine's) Adm. Pensioner 1707.

Maycock )

Macocke ) Samuel, (Jesus, Caines) 1611-14.

Mitton, Roger (Pembroke) (Jesus) BA 1685/6. "M.A."

Nelson, William (Magdalen) (Trinity Hall) BA 1720/1.

Pead, Duell (Trinity) Scholar 1665. "B.A."

Pendleton, Nathaniel (Corpus Christi) BA 1672/3.

Pretty, Henry (Jesus) BA 1677/8.

Rosier)

Rosyer) John (Caines) BA 1623/4, MA 1627.

Rozier)

Rowe, Jacob (Trinity) BA Cambridge 1752.

Waggener, Peter, BA & MA (Trinity) in Virginia 1705.  
(Waggoner)

Whittaker, William, M.A. Cambridge. To Virginia 1611.



## Cambridge contd.

(Note: 49 listed - 27 BA, 16 MA, 1 BD, 1 MB,  
 1 LLB, 2 D.D. Of the total degrees,  
 1 received 4, 14 received 2, 16 received  
 1, and 18 Matr. or not listed.)

## Oxford or Cambridge - possible

Andrews, William (O)  
 Aylmer, Justinian (O) - doubtful  
 Baker, Thomas (O)  
 Ball, John (O)  
 Barclay, John (C)  
 Bennett, William (C)  
 Bolton, John (C)  
 Butler, Thomas (C & O)  
 Carr, Robert (C)  
 Chapman, John (C & O)  
 Clayton, John, F. R. Soc. (C)  
 Cotton, William (C & O)  
 Cowper, John (C & O)  
 Davies, William (O)  
 Davis, Peter (C & O)  
 Davis, Thomas (O)  
 Davis, William (C & O)  
 Edwards, Thomas (C & O)

## Oxford or Cambridge contd.

Goodwin, Benjamin (O)  
 Goodwin, John (C & O)  
 Gordon, John (O)  
 Gough)  
 Gouge) John (C & O)  
 Gooch)  
 Grace, Isaac (O)  
 Gray, Samuel (C)  
 Gregory, John (C & O)  
 Gwynn, John (O)  
 Hammond, John (C & O)  
 Harris, William (O)  
 Hassell, Thomas (C)  
 Holbroke, John (C & O)  
 Hopkins, George (C & O)  
 Horner, Hezekiah (C)  
 Hotchkis, \_\_\_\_\_ (C & O)  
 Hughes, Thomas (O)  
 (Hunt, John (O) )  
 Johnson, Edward (C & O)  
 Jones, Owen (O)  
 Jones, Rowland (O)  
 Jones, Samuel (C & O)  
 Kellsall, Roger (C)  
 Key, Isaac (C)  
 King, John (C & O)

## Oxford or Cambridge contd.

Kymaston, John (O)  
 Lake, Thomas (C)  
 Lloyd, \_\_\_\_\_ (O)  
 Morris, Richard (C & O)  
 Page, John (O)  
 Palmer, John (C & O)  
 Palmer, Thomas (C & O)  
 Parker) Henry (O)  
 Parkes)  
 Phillips, Thomas (C & O)  
 Prince, John (C & O)  
 Roberts, John (C & O)  
 Rodgers, John (C & O)  
 Sandys)  
 Saunders) George (David) (O)  
 Sands)  
 Saunders, Jonathan (O)  
 Saunders, John (O)  
 Sheppard)  
 Shephard) John (Church Parish 1668-82) (O)  
 Shepherd)  
 Shelton, William (O) Will prob. 1739 in England.  
 Thompson, William (O)  
 Webb, William (O)  
 White, Thomas (O)  
 White, William (O)  
 Wilkerson, William (O)  
 (Wilkinson)  
 Williams, William (O)

Oxford or Cambridge contd.

Wilson, John (O)

Wright, John (O)

William and Mary

Bland, William (W & M 1758-63).

Cameron, John, D.D. (W & M) (See also Aberdeen).

Davenport, Joseph, KB, Va., 1755.

Dixon, John (KB Va. 1748) ("Ed. at W & M College").

Emmerson, Arthur, Jr. (Student 1758).

Fontaine, James Maury (Student Ca. 1760).

Fox, John (Licensed for Va. 1731).

Hewitt, Richard (Student 1753-5).

Hooe, Rice (Student 1752-5).

Hubard, William (Student 1759-62).

Jones, Edward (Student 1767).

Jones, Emanuel (Student 1772/4).

Kenner, Rodham, Jr. (Student 1759-60, ca.)

Leigh, William (Student 1763-9) (See also others.)

Leland, John, Jr. (Student 1772).

Madison, James (Student 1768-72).

Marye, James, Jr. (Student 1754).

Matthews, John (Student 1754).

Maury, James (K.B. Va., 1742).

Maury, Matthew (Student 1768).

Maury, Walker (Student 1771-75).

## William and Mary contd.

(Pasteur, Charles, KB Va. 1735/6, died before reaching home.)

Price, Thomas (Student 1754).

Selden, William (Student 1752-5).

Shield) Samuel (Student 1769) Med. Dist.  
Sheild)

Stith, William "Studied" (See also Oxford).

Thurston) Charles Mynn (Student 1754).  
Thruston)

Todd, Christopher (Student 1768-70).

Waugh, Abner (Student 1765-8).

West, William (Student 1756-60).

Yates, William (Student) b. 1720.

(Note: Of the 30 listed for William and Mary 5 were prior to 1750.)

## Other Colleges and Universities - uncertain

Andrews, Robert, MA (College of Philadelphia)

Blair, James, MA (Edinburgh)

Bracken, John, D.D. ( ? )

Buchanan, John, A.M., D.D. ( ? )

Cameron, John, King's College, Aberdeen ("grad.").

(See also William and Mary.)

Eaton, Nathaniel, Ph.D., M.D., Padua, 1647.

Finney, William, MA, Glasgow. d. 1727.

Green, Charles, B.A. 1731, M.A. 1735/6, M.D.

Griffith, David, D.D. b. 1742.

(Henderson, Jacob, KB Va. 1710, Glasgow, "Seems not to have been in Va.")

## Other Colleges and Universities contd.

Inglis, Mungo, M.A.

Kenner, Rodham, Sr., Glasgow. (A deacon in 1729.)

Leigh, William, studied at Edinburgh. (See also W & M)

Lesley, Robert, B.A. Dublin 1636/7, MA Aberdeen 1638.

(See also Cambridge & Oxford)

Lindsay, David, D.D. (From Scotland.)

Macrae, Xtopher, Edinburgh, KB Va. 1766.

Manning, Nathaniel, Graduate of Princeton College 1762.

Rainsford) Giles, B. A. Trinity, Dublin, 1699, M.A. Dublin 1705.  
Ransford)

Scott, Alexander, M.A. (Scotchman) List of 1714.

Taylor, Daniel, Jr., "B.A."

Thompson, John, M.A. Edinburgh.

## APPENDIX B

A LIST OF CLASSICAL TEXTS NOW IN THE LIBRARY OF THE COLLEGE  
OF WILLIAM AND MARY, WHICH BELONGED TO COLONIAL STUDENTS IN  
THE COLLEGE, TOGETHER WITH THE NAMES OF THE OWNERS, WHEN KNOWN.

Guthrie's Cicero, Vol. III, London, 1752  
6 Orations  
Property of Briscoe Baldwin.

Melmoth's Cicero, Ad. Famil., Vols. II & III  
London, 1772  
Property of Preeson Bowddin.

Livy - Books I - V, 1788, "Usui scholarum"  
Edinburgh  
Property of Robert Christian.

Homer. Translation by MacPherson, Dublin, 1773 - Greek  
Property of Nicholas Faulcon (1786)  
(notes in owner's hand)

Livy, Vol. III, Edinburgh, 1764  
Property of Lucius Louis.

Sallust, Catiline, Jugurtha, Edinburgh, 1770  
Latin and English  
Property of Philip Nicholas.

(?) Lucian, selections  
(dates at least to 1798)

Horace, Works of, Vol. II, translation by Watson,  
with original text and annotations  
London, 1760  
Property of William Short.

Florus, London, 1744  
Property of William Short.

Suetonius, London, 1718  
Property of William Short.

Terence, 6 Comedies, London, 1729  
Property of Peyton Short.

New Testament, Greek and Latin, Amsterdam, 1741  
Property of Peyton Short.

Justinus (Delphin Edition), London, 1755 (?)  
Property of Mathew Saunders.

Colman's Terence, London, 1763  
Property of William Short.

Horace, Glasgow, 1760  
Presented 1779 by Bracken to W. Short.

Juvenal, London, 1750 (Delphin Edition)  
Property of W. Short.

Eutropius, Sextus Rufus, Messala Corvinus,  
Lugduni Batavorum, 1729  
Property of W. Short.

Erasmus, Lugduni Batavorum, 1729  
Property of W. Short.

Coleman's Terence (English), London, 1768  
Horrocks

New Testament - Greek - Emanuel Jones (1750) (?)  
E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1675.

Minucius Felix - Stith - Cambridge, 1707.



## APPENDIX C

### THE EXTANT LATIN VERSE OF GORONAY OWEN

#### Early Works

##### AN BONA OPERA SINT MERITORIA?

Quis sibi confidit coelum sua facta mereri?  
Digna Dei veniā quis sua facta putat?  
Nemo caret vitiis, nemo sine crimine vivit;  
Cui bona sunt, quamvis plurima, plura mala.  
Ipse Deus bonus est, Deus est bonitatis origo;  
Tota hominum bonitas est tribuenda Deo.  
Facta igitur nequeunt hominum meritoria dici:  
Quod figulo argilla est, sunt hominesque Deo.  
Num tantum, quaeso, quisquam supererogat, inde  
Quantum aliis vendat, qui bonitate carent?  
Macte, papista, bonis factis! te vindice coelum,  
Si sibi sit nummus, quisque merere potest.  
(I, 1.)

##### ON THE ESCAPE OF CAPTAIN FOULKES

In the great storm of September 10, 1741, when, driven by a hard gale from Aelianus Point to the North of Ireland, his sails and rigging were swept overboard.

Quid crepat? Haud intra ripas se continet aequor!  
Numquid dejectum tecta feruntur aquae?  
Vae misero nautae pelago qui credere vitam  
Sustinet, insanis jam periturus aquis.  
Qualiter heu qualis fremitu furit Eurus in undas!  
Qualiter oppositam verberat unda ratem!  
Vertice jam coelum tangit, jam fertur in Orcum;  
Spreta sibi quondam littora nauta cupit.  
Iratum numen pelagi prece vexat inani;  
Littus ut attingat millia vota vovet.  
Stulte, nimis sero moriundus pectora plangis;  
Sero nimis, periens aequore, littus amas.

Si semel attinges littus ne rursus ad aequor,  
 Vela daturus, eas; ne patiaris idem.  
 Kyboei templum petito cum vestibus udis,  
 Quas suspende, memor quanta pericla fugis.  
 (1741) (I, 1-2)

#### SOME FURTHER THOUGHTS

On the necessity, or non-necessity, of going to sea, written  
 for the benefit of Admiral Coytmore and some of the lady  
 passengers in the voyage just mentioned.

Hoc fuit antiquè dictum, "Docet omnia venter";  
 Mortales pelagus, ventre docente, petunt.  
 Nam durum est telum duris in rebus egestas;  
 Vitae profusos haec facit esse viros.  
 Sed multos video, nihilo cogente, periclis  
 Se dantes, quis sunt res famulique domi;  
 Vivere qui possent felices rure paterno,  
 Almâ, sique velint, usque quiete frui.  
 Ille fuit certè ferro praecordia cinctus,  
 Qui se sustinuit credere primus aquis.  
 Quando Deucalion lapides jactavit in orbem,  
 Non illum lapides mollificasse reor;  
 In cor durities lapidis migravit, et illic  
 Restat adhuc nullis mollificanda modis.  
 Audacis Japeti durum genus omnia tentat;  
 Non quidquam metuit; per scelus omne ruit.  
 (1741) (I, 2-3)

## AD APOLLINEM ET MUSAS

O Smintheu, pater esuritionum,  
 Nugas tolle tuas ineptiasque;  
 Vosque ite O! procul hinc, novem sorores,  
 Vobis non opus est nihi, Camaenae,  
 Indignatio quem facit poetam.  
 Longum, Pierides malae, valete;  
 Euterpe meretrix, Thalia maecha,  
 Scortillum Polyhymnia invenustum,  
 Clio prostibulum, lutum lupanar,  
 Et quas praetereo, malae puallae,  
 Per quas non nisi mortuis poetis  
 Sero fama venit, famesque vivis.  
 Ah! vidi, et pudet heu! sed ipse vidi  
 Vestro de grege, pessimae, poetam  
 Jucundum, facilem, probum, disertum,  
 Cordatum, verecundum, et eruditum,  
 Et cultum satis, et sat elegantem,  
 Et qui cederet unico Catullo,  
 Docto par tamen ipse Martiali;  
 Quem juxta Veneresque Gratiaequae  
 Certabant sibi vindicare cunctae;  
 Qui, si fortia bella personaret,  
 Magnum vivere crederes Homerum;  
 Seu Mopsi teneros referret ignes,  
 Haud quidquam cecinit vel ipsa Sappho  
 Pulchro Lesbia mollius Phaoni:  
 Hunc vidi miserum, indignum, dolentem,  
 Squallente facie, horridaque barba,  
 Detritis quoque sordidum lucernis,  
 Et nudis pedibus, genuque nudo,  
 Hybernis Aquilonibus rigentem,  
 Aevi reliquias malas trahentem  
 Aegre, nec saturum offulis caninis, (.)  
 O quanto melius beatiusque  
 Et cerdonibus est et architectis,  
 Saltatoribus atque pantomimis,  
 Artes quique colunt pecuniosas!  
 Quid rodis, male livor, immerentes?  
 Et quid Zoilus invidet poetis?  
 At me Gronovium, tuum poetam,  
 Nugacissime Phoebe, perdidisti!  
 Si posthac numeris ineptiisque  
 Nostri ludere pruriant libelli,  
 Claudii nec metuant Dei furorem,  
 Si nec Tardipedi Deo dabuntur,  
 Sit durus mihi Plutus et Minerva.  
 At vos interea, novem sorores,  
 Longum, Pierides malae, valete,  
 Et Smintheu, pater esuritionum.

In Natalem  
DOMINI GEORGII HERBERTI

Nunc juvat laeto resonare cantu  
Musa, nunc plectro citharam canoram  
Suscita, Eryri recinat jocosa  
Montis imago.<sup>1</sup>

Vos et, O bardi, Druidum propago,  
Inclytos qui laude viros perenni  
Traditis famae, metuens perire  
Dicite carmen;

Quale nascenti Corybantes olim,  
Aera quassantes, cecinere alumno:  
Natus est nobis, Jove dignus ipso,  
Nobilis infans.

Aureum tandem rediise saeculum  
Credo, quod vates cecinere quondam,  
Ore dum sacro Britonum referrent  
Fata nepotum.

Macte virtutum puer alme, macte,<sup>2</sup>  
Magna magnorum soboles parentum;  
Aque me blando, tibi gratulantem,  
Accipe risu.

Gratulor nato tibi, pulcher infans,  
Ter beatorum decus, O! parentum;  
Teque felicem videant futura  
Tempora patrem!

Teque virtutes decorent paternae;  
Ille avo dignos videat nepotes!  
Haec precor tantum; Superis patrique  
Cetera mitto.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Horace, Odes, I, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vergil, Aen. IX, 641.

Ille praeceptis teneram juventam  
 Imbuet rectis, monitisque dignum  
 Addet exemplum, trahet et sequacem  
 Laude paternâ.

Sive te pacis maneant honores  
 Inter augusti procures senatus,  
 Sive de partibus, duce te, triumphis  
 Fama loquetur,

Sentios quantum valeat paterna  
 Cura, quid possit docilis juvenus,<sup>3</sup>  
 Si sequi magnos velit Herebertos  
 Aemula virtus.

Optimis proles atavis creata;  
 Nam boni fortes generant bonosque;  
 Spem tuae quantam patriae dedisti  
 Talibus ortus!

Quo refulgebis nitidus tropaeo?  
 Te nec imbellem licet ominari;  
 Quem teres hostem? tibi quaeve debet  
 Terra triumphos?

Sit tuum infames domuisse Gallos,  
 Qui fide Poenos superare certant  
 Punica, et pacis specie dolosa  
 Bella minantur.

Ad quid infensos stimulant Britannos,  
 Hinnuli saevos pavidi leones?  
 Aut suae quorum lacrymosa quaerunt  
 Funera genti?

Heu! sibi quantam properat ruinam  
 Gallia, insanos meditans tumultus!  
 Quo ruit? quorsum est onerare tantis  
 Classibus aequor?

Quid malis demens avibus facessit<sup>4</sup>  
 Saepe devictas reparare turmas,  
 Foederis fracti luitura multo  
 Sanguine poenas?

---

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Horace, Carmen Saeculare, 45.

<sup>4</sup> This is an evident reference to the Roman system of Augury.

Si quid audendum validus Georgi  
 Miles augusti, duce Gulielmo,  
 Posteris linquet, tibi det subacta  
 Gallia nomen.

Detque, qui totum regit Unus orbem,  
 Quicquid est usquam vel erit bonorum--  
 Det diu Rubrum decorare Castrum  
 Powisianum.<sup>5</sup>

Hic tibi curis placidus soluto  
 Publicis olim dabitur recessus;  
 Hic ages dulces, sociis Camaenis,  
 Leniter horas.

Forsan et nostrae rude opus Camaenae  
 Perleges olim, vacuus negoti  
 Quod tibi vates cecini bilinguis  
 Cambro-Latinum.

Dum lavat Rubrum Sabriana Castrum,  
 Dumque stat magni genus Hereberti,  
 Te canent nostro celebrem futuri  
 Carmine Cambri.

Sic cecinit Gronovius Ovinus Niger, ipsis  
 Calendis Decembribus, 1755.

---

<sup>5</sup> The seat of the Earl of Powis was constructed of a red-colored stone.

## APPENDIX D

### TABLE OF CLASSICAL WORKS POSSESSED BY CLERGYMEN WHOSE LIBRARIES ARE REPORTED IN CHAPTER III.

The following table will show at a glance just what classical works were in the possession of those clergymen whose libraries are reported in Chapter III. The inventories of the libraries were made in every case at the man's death, and therefore show only the volumes he had when he died. They do not tell us how many and what books he had lost, discarded, or lent out--or what books he had borrowed and returned. In every case it may be assumed that the man had read more books (though not necessarily in any specific category) than appear in his inventory.

As might be expected, Latin authors are more widely represented than Greek, with twenty authors occurring a total of forty-six times. Fifteen Greek authors, plus an anthology of minor Greek poets, appear a total of twenty-one times. Horace was most popular among the seven clergymen, five of whom had editions of his poems. Vergil, Ovid, Cicero, and Sallust occur four times each, while Caesar, Martial, Juvenal, and Persius were in three libraries each. Terence, Seneca, and Suetonius appear twice each.

The only Greek authors who occur more than once are Homer, Epictetus, Aesop, and Josephus, each of whom is represented in two collections. One notices gaps in Greek literature: Plato is not seen, and the dramatists are known only by one edition of Euripides.

(See Tables - pages 109, 110.)



## GREEK WORKS

AUTHOR	Goodborne (1635)	Teackle (1694)	Pasteur (1736)	Stuart (1749)	Kay (1764)	Moncure (1764)	Menzies (1787)
Homer	X						
Plutarch	Latin & Eng.						
Thucydides	Latin						
Aristotle	Greek & Lat.						
Pindar	X						
Isocrates	X						
Minor Greek Poets - Anthology	X					X	
Lucian		X					
Aphthonius		X					
Dio Cassius		X					
Epictetus				X			X
Aesop				Eng. ?	X		
Josephus					X		X
Xenophon							?
M. Aurelius							X
Euripides							X
Longinus					X		

## LATIN WORKS

AUTHOR	Goodborne (1635)	Teackle (1694)	Pasteur (1736)	Stuart (1749)	Kay (1764)	Moncure (1764)	Menzies (1787)
Quintilian	X						
Claudius Aelianus	X						
Vergil	Latin & Eng.		X			X	Eng.
Horace	X	Odes	X			X	X
Ovid	X	X	"8 vols."			X	
Plautus	X						
Terence	Latin & Eng.				X		
Juvenal	X	X	X				
Persius	X	X	X				
Cicero	X	Ad.Fam. De Offi.	Orationes Ad.Fam.?				De Oratore Orationes Disp. Tusc. De Fin. De Off.
Seneca	X	X					
Caesar	X		X				X
Sallust	X	X	X			X	
Suetonius	X	X					
Justinus	X						
Martial		X				X	X
Lucan		X					
Phaedrus			X				

APPENDIX E

JONATHAN BOUCHER'S LETTER TO MR. ADDISON<sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

Ashamed and weary of this unproductive and unprofitable course of life, I resolve to commence planter. There is in your neighbourhood a charming little plantation, unoccupied by anybody, which I think would exactly suit my purpose. As to buying it, that is out of the question; it is not venal, nor to be disposed of to the highest bidder: nor, if it were, have I wealth enough to buy it. If it were to be sold for what it is worth, the wealth of the Indies could not purchase it. I should indeed like to have it seiz'd in tail, which as I am sure I should never be disposed to part with it, might answer my purposes as well as a fee-simple. However, I shall think myself quite happy to get it on a lease for lives.

Scorning the little dirty finesses of common chapmen, who have an idle way of depreciating the commodities they want to purchase, I will frankly own to you I think this tenement inestimable: and I know that I greatly under-rate it when I offer not only all my worldly goods, but consent to bind my-

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of An American Loyalist, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., pp. 82-91.

self to its fair proprietor till death us do part, or longer, if you can make the Deeds of Conveyance to be longer binding.

O Sir! 'tis a delightful spot! in my eyes the promised land, which, in the best sense of the phrase, flows with milk and honey; and even in its present uncultivated state, in the fine poetical language of the Canticles, is a Garden beautiful as Tirzah. But need I tell you that we live not now in that fabled age when per se dabat omnia tellus:<sup>2</sup> let poets say what they will, nunc nulla est inaratae gratia terrae,<sup>3</sup> or, as Cicero expresses it, Ager, quamvis fertilis, sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest.<sup>4</sup> Now might I but be appointed to the culture of so genial a soil, novice as I know you think I am, doubt not but that molli paulatim flavescet campus arista:<sup>5</sup> I should soon raise a little Paradise around me.

I know indeed these sweet fields are already adorned or enamelled (if I may be permitted to borrow a fine word from

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<sup>2</sup> Ovid, Metamorphoses, I. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Vergil, Georgics, I. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero (Not further identified.)

<sup>5</sup> Vergil, Eclogues, IV. 26.

that redoubtable literary champion, Colonel Landon Carter of Virginia, who has so many of them, that he may well spare me one) with every flower of fairest hue; but flowers must fade, and even summer suns will set. Ere long the ruffian winter will arrive, whose effects on the vegetable creation are like those of old age on the animal, and therefore will soon deform all the beauties of the year. Now I, methinks, happily possess so much skill in botany, and have a turn so to cherish these short-lived deciduous plants, as to render them perennial. I think I can like the old Corycian, teach them to bloom even in those evil days when Time shall have shed his hoary honours on the beds on which they grow; of if they die, Phoenix-like they shall either revive or live, as it were over again in young ones which I hope to see springing from them. Yes, by my prevailing happy art, I will so exercise the rising grounds, and so fructify the irriguous valleys, that when neighbouring fields shall be parched by solstitial heats, blighted by autumnal blasts, or desolated by Brumal storms, I trust to see mine flourishing in immortal youth, and equally bidding defiance to summer's suns and winter's snows:

Sic iis nec vernum nascentia frigus adurat  
Poma, nec excutiant rapidi florentia venti.<sup>6</sup>

It will perhaps be told me that as your own country is now abundantly stocked with planters, who are reputed good crop-masters, it would be incongruous and perchance unpatriotic to employ a foreigner. This is an objection and has weight. It would, I believe, have deterred me from offering myself at all, had I not recollected that many fine plants, so dear to you, were all raised from seeds and standard stocks brought hither from the very country from which I come. Let me not be thought to vaunt, when I observe that you have no reason to decline making a similar experiment. Animated by the view of what has been done, I eagerly anticipate what may be done; and now that, as K. Richard says, I have crept into favour with myself, I will pluck up courage and tell you, with the lioness in the fable, that you should regard not so much the quantity as the quality of your crops. I am not to be told how surprisingly things here shoot up in the shade; but what are they? weeds probably; or at best poor spindling plants, without pith or vigour. There is, Sir, a material difference between raising

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<sup>6</sup> Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIV. 763.

a little shrubbery of puny, short-lived, wayfaring sprouts, arbusta, humilesque myricae, and a noble, hardy, and thriving nursery of true English heart of oak.

Yet why should I doubt to equal any of your country-born planters, as well in the number, as in the good quality of my crops? I have, it is true, like some other fellows you have known, too long gone upon the monastic system of husbandry; and I have also studied Plato's theory; but I here declare my resolution to renounce the former; and I do, ex animo, most solemnly abjure and protest against all the fine-spun notions of the latter as heterodox and damnable. Henceforward I devote myself, in obedience to the first command given by the Sovereign of the universe, to study only how to increase and multiply. Instead of the casual fruition of a stolen meal, which, so far from being sweet, as a silly proverb pretends it is, is, I am persuaded, always joyless and unendeared, my ambition now is, dapibus mensas onerare inemtis.<sup>7</sup> O what a gratification will it be to me to see my table decorated with those loveliest ornaments, those olive branches, the growth of my own plantation, which Israel's king has promised shall re-

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<sup>7</sup> Vergil, Georgics, IV. 133.

ward the exertions of the man who is truly industrious in these labours of love.

Permit me, Sir, to suggest a farther observation to you on this point, which I believe to be as true in the vegetable as it certainly is in the animal world. As in the latter, so in the former, you should frequently change the breed, or, as it is commonly called, cross the strain. Accordingly you will never see a judicious farmer sow his field with seed that has come off a kindred or congenial soil. What a dreary wilderness must America still have remained had it not been for the importation of our European exotics, which some naturalists have remarked, when naturalised frequently thrive better than they would have done in their own native climes, better indeed than many of your own indigenous plants do ~~here~~. We are told, I think, that with respect to this part of America, the only aboriginal fruit you have is a harsh, dirty-dingy-red or copper-coloured plum, which Miller calls the *Canadana*, sive sylvestris Indicus prunus, cum cortice nec<sup>8</sup> piloso, nec etiam in intersticibus lanuginoso, fructuque valde acerbo. This is an exact description of our persimmon. In England, we learn from the researches of antiquarians, that till the invasion of the Romans

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<sup>8</sup> The Indians always pluck all the hairs out of their faces.



they had no fruit but a still meaner plum, which Caesar describes as being vitro infectum, quod caeruleum efficit colorem.<sup>9</sup> This, you will remember, very well describes the sloe. Not many centuries ago, in the Northern parts of Europe there grew an immensely large forest of stately trees, known to the ancients by the generic name of Scythians. These for want of attending to the indispensably necessary expedients of transplanting, grafting, and inoculating, in time degenerated into a kind of scrubby oaks, not unlike your Black Jacks, then called Goths and Vandals. Some skilful botanists happily hit on the only means by which they could have been meliorated. They were transplanted into different soils, and engrafted on alien stocks; and from this heterogeneous intermixture the world has been covered with such trees and woods as are now its chiefest ornaments. Et dubitant homines serere, atque impendere curam!<sup>10</sup>

It is farther remarkable of the plantations here, that being still but scions of the parent stock, they are in no condition to be torn from that prop and shelter which fosters them with parental tenderness, ingentique ramorum protegit umbrâ.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Caesar, B. G., V. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Vergil, Georgics, II. 433.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., II 489.

But to return, this little demesne (and in the petitionary phrase of Lot, is it not a little one? and there are many reasons why I should therefore like it the better, even though I had never heard of this excellent rule, Laudate ingentia rura, exiguum colite<sup>12</sup>) having once been a part of your family estate, it is natural to suppose you may be consulted in the letting of it; and therefore as I set up for a candidate, I take this earliest opportunity of soliciting your vote and interest. Rating myself somewhat above your common riff-raff overseers or tenants, I disdain the stale artifice of obtruding myself on you by any sham certificates or lying testimonials. I was brought up under an old experienced English farmer, my ever-honoured father:

Laus illi debetur, et a me <sup>ad hoc nunc</sup> gratia major.  
Nili me paenitet sanum patris huius.<sup>13</sup>

It is true he never was possessed of more than two plantations, the former of which, moreover, he fortified (as the lawn-sleeved bully of Gloster, in some of his things, is somewhere pleased to express himself) to pitch upon among the bogs of Ireland, a

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., II. 412.

<sup>13</sup> Horace Sat. I, 6, 87-89.

country of which let me observe en passant, that there is not in the world a kindlier climate for prolific vegetation, yet was he eminently noted for his abilities in this first of callings, as Varro entitles it. Adsunt testes.<sup>14</sup> Imitating the solemnity of Hamilcar's vindictive charge to the infant enemy of Rome; and like him choosing to teach as well by example as by precept, insuevit pater optimus hoc me,<sup>15</sup> Plough often and deep. This, you cannot but recollect, is in the very spirit of Tull's famous system, who doubtless copied it from the elegant farmer of Mantua, whose perpetual maxim is, frequens exerce tellurem.<sup>16</sup>

When I spoke of ploughing often I would not be understood to have said that my instructor was so romantic as to wish me to equal the ploughman mentioned by Isaiah, who plougheth all day to sow. No, to everything there is a season; a time to labour and a time to rest. Nor by ploughing deep, did I mean to say that my father thought, or had taught me to think, there was any absolute necessity for going to the bottom of things. That perhaps is impossible; neither am I sure, were it not so, that it would be good husbandry. For I am not like you to labour

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<sup>14</sup> Not identified.

<sup>15</sup> Horace, Sat. I. 4. 105.

<sup>16</sup> Vergil, Georg. I. 99.

to eradicate but to plant.

Far from expecting that my cares are to terminate when my plants are to be removed from the seed-bed, it will be the pride and pleasure of my life to attend to every stage of their future growth; carefully succouring them as occasion shall require, and diligently extirpating every noxious weed that may chance to shoot up near them. Nor will I cease my attention till they shall be advanced to such a degree of maturity as that I shall not fear their passing inspection.

I am well aware that there are too many in the world who have a knack at puffing their own merits beyond all reasonable bounds; and that though you yourself may know better, some others to whom you must attend will continue to consider every outlandish man as an avanturier. And that therefore, though you may forbear to ask, Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatus,<sup>17</sup> yet you may be urged to call on me, as another great land-holder once did, for a settlement. I could tell you of large possessions I hold in so charming a country, that it might well pass for fairy-land, called Utopia; but as I cannot pretend they are famous for your country produce I waive all

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<sup>17</sup> Horace, A. P. 138.

farther mention of them. Instead of long lists of slaves I have a large catalogue of the mighty dead, to whom I owe, and hope always to owe (what negroes do not always procure) a good living. Ye must remember, and, remembering, acknowledge the truth of our old Cumberland copy, that these are better than house and land, for 'when houses are gone and lands are spent, then such estates are excellent.'

But crede experto;<sup>18</sup> I wish for no better terms than to be admitted on trial. And if, after a fair exhibition of my powers I shall be judged unequal to the service, be it at the discretion of my fair employer claudere rivos,<sup>19</sup> and to dismiss me. O were I but once fairly entered on the premises, and regularly set to work cum omni instrumento ad rem rusticam pertinente,<sup>20</sup> that is to say, the gravis ligo, vomer ponderosus, actoresque bini,<sup>21</sup> I think, I think I should not soon be turned off. No (*absit attamen superbia dicto*)<sup>22</sup>, the means I should

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<sup>18</sup> Vergil, Aen. XI, 283 (*Experto credite*)

<sup>19</sup> Vergil, Ecl. III. 111 (*Claudite*)

<sup>20</sup> Not identified.

<sup>21</sup> Not identified.

<sup>22</sup> Not identified.

employ to bring my enclosures into a proper tilth would, I am willing to flatter myself, be so satisfactory and grateful that, enamoured of my system, my lovely and beloved landlady would, in the emphatical language of Saint Paul, exclaim, This is God's husbandry, and declare of her tenant what he has often said of the tenement, tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam lubens.<sup>23</sup> Imagination itself could go but one step farther in forming an idea of the supremest human felicity, and that is that she should wish, as I trust she soon would,

Omnes ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos

Exigat, et pulchrā me faciat prole parentem.

(Virgil)<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Horace, Odes, III. 9. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Aen. I. 74-75.

## VITA

W. Elliott Wilkins, jr., was born at Cape Charles, Virginia, October 2, 1927 and spent his early life there. He was graduated from Cape Charles High School in 1945 and from the College of William and Mary in the Class of 1949. He served in the United States Army in 1946-47. In 1950 he became a member of the faculty of Norfolk Academy, Norfolk, Virginia, where he now teaches.